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The Nation.

June 28, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

THE COURT'S RIGHT TURN

he President has the right to nominate Supreme ourt Justices who reflect his political philosoy. But he can only nominate; the Senate must ake the final choice. Senators also have the ght, and the obligation, to exercise their power appointment in accordance with their vi- on of the national interest and constitutional berties.

In the past senators have taken this respon- bility very seriously, no matter how popular e President. In 1795 the Senate turned down eorge Washington's nomination of John Rut- dge as Chief Justice. Ulysses S. Grant, one of e most popular Presidents in our history, had s first appointment to the Court voted down.

A President's choice is not entitled to the nefit of the doubt. The Supreme Court is part the third branch of government, mandated to bitrate between the competing claims of the her branches and between citizens and the ate. It must be independent of the executive.

The Senate's duty is greater today than ever fore. Although the Court has throughout its story been involved in grave national issues, rely have so many lives been directly affected its decisions. Its rulings on personal liberty d equality reach into every corner of our na- nal life, from abortion to affirmative action.

In nominating Antonin Scalia and William hnquist, the President has chosen two ultra- htist ideologues who disguise their crude sult-oriented jurisprudence as strict construc- nism. Chief Justice Burger's convenient resig- tion enables Reagan to project his philosophy to the next century. The first question for the nate is whether his nominee for chief will dermine the effort to safeguard "liberty and stice for all," which has been supported by most every Justice in the past quarter-century— th the notable exception of Rehnquist.

MEMORIES OF BORGES
Christopher Hitchens

ENGINEERS' DUTY TO SPEAK OUT
Dave Lindorff

ISLAMIC WAVE HITS TURKEY
Dilip Hiro

LOUIS SULLIVAN'S TRAVAILS
Rosemarie Haag Bletter

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS
Diane F. Orentlicher

A PROGRAM FOR THE LEFT

THINKING ABOUT TERRORISM

RICHARD FALK

Terrorism is as ancient as the poisoning of wells and the assassination plots of biblical times, and as recent as yesterday's headlines. It is employed by groups at both extremes of the political spectrum and takes many forms, from extortion by lone crazies to the hydra-headed "terror network" conjured up in the writings of a burgeoning school of academic and journalistic specialists.

Of greatest current prominence is "international terrorism"—incidents that have a transnational character and involve the citizens and territory of more than one country. Terrorism of this sort and, more specifically, that which involves First and Third World countries and has an element of government sponsorship, as exemplified by the U.S.-Libyan conflict, will be my primary concern here.

From the perspective of the state, terrorism comprises acts of violence committed by illegal groups on a covert basis and designed to spread fear among the populace. A typical definition can be found in *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, published by the State Department: "Terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine state agents, usually intended to influence an audience."

In the Libyan affair, the United States charged the regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi with sponsoring terrorism in a variety of ways: through ideological encouragement, training and equipment, logistical support via its embassies, transmission of weapons, provision of havens for accused terrorists, assassination of exiled political opponents and even specific

(*Continued on Page 886*)

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LETTERS.

BLACKBOARD JUNGLES

Great Neck, N.Y.

How fair-minded of *The Nation* to have assigned my book to Herbert Kohl for review ["And Not So Gladly Teach," May 24]. Not only was he specifically singled out for criticism by teachers quoted in the book, but he has been sharply criticized by virtually all of the book's endorsers, Diane Ravitch, Albert Shanker, Chester Finn, Gus Tyler, Edward Banfield et al. (Kohl is silent on this.)

Might that explain Kohl's virulent dislike of a book the above found "warmly sympathetic," "relentlessly realistic," "splendid and evocative" and "a plea for attention to what truly ails public education"?

Might that explain Kohl's selective reading? Example one: I described Mr. Adam, the principal of a high school in New York City, as, inter alia, "unlovable, boorish, a nonstop talker." I wrote: "Patience, warmth and tolerance were qualities of whose existence he seemed unaware. . . . He could close his eyes to appalling illegalities." Nevertheless, Kohl infers that I "dream of the good old days when the school was run by Adam." Example two: Two chapters, "The Term Winds Down" and "Closing Days," are devoted largely to the preferential treatment accorded several white middle-class students and the resultant shame and resentment teachers felt. "Open School Afternoon" centers on a black parent; I call the two of us "Bobbsey twins" and tell my chairman, "I wish we had a thousand more like her." "Graduating Seniors" focuses on the extraordinary efforts administration and staff made to help a struggling black student graduate. Ad infinitum. If this adds up to "the most racist book" Kohl has ever read, we live on different planets.

What explains Kohl's factual errors? He writes that "Adam couldn't control the C.E.H. kids [children with emotional handicaps]," even though Adam retired nearly a decade before we had the C.E.H. program. He writes of "the unqualified minorities who, according to Natkins, took over the school when Adam retired." No minorities, qualified or unqualified, took over the school when Adam retired, and nowhere do I state or suggest that they did. He writes that "over lunch teachers reflect on the correctness of Jensen and Schockley's theories," although I write (on page 92) of only one teacher, standing in a corridor, who says, "Maybe Schockley is right," and then of another who responds by disagreeing. He writes, "The whole of *Our Last Term* is a litany of student failure," when chapter after chapter is devoted to bureaucratic ineptitude, judicial interference and long-distance policy-making.

Will *The Nation* be assigning Norman Podhoretz's next book to Gore Vidal for review? With, of course, strict instructions not to breathe a word about anything either has ever written about the other? I can't wait. *Lucille G. Natkins*

KOHL REPLIES

Point Arena, Calif.

The current debate on education is pervaded by a fundamental disagreement about what is wrong in the schools. The book's endorsers whom Lucille G. Natkins cites agree in putting the blame on children, their parents, dangers in the streets, the bureaucracy and the so-called failures of the innovations of the 1960s and 1970s. The teachers are innocent bystanders, except, of course, those troublemakers who support community control of schools and open education. Yet Natkins's school was a traditional failure. That was the point of her book—that nothing she and most of her colleagues did worked with their students. Her endorsers—Shanker, Ravitch, Finn and the like, the Reagan educators—have given up on the idea that all children can be well educated The book, as I said in the review, is a cynical call to give up on most of the children and focus on the elite, who will conform to the stupid practices of orthodox schooling. I believe that this approach is undemocratic and that without looking at teachers and holding them accountable for their attitudes and practices we will never achieve decency in the schools. I wonder what it would be like to have a high school in the urban ghetto staffed by Ravitch, Shanker, Finn, Natkins, Tyler, Banfield and the ubiquitous et al. I doubt they have the courage to try it.

As for Natkins's criticisms of my reading of her diary, I did my best to make sense of her references and cross-references; of the gossip, chitchat and cant in the book. If I misinterpreted her intentions or misread some sections, I apologize. However, I have to reaffirm that I came away from the book feeling sad and sorry for the students at the school she described. If those had been my teachers, I would have felt nothing but rage.

Finally, I want to say that poor, hurt, damaged, angry people are not stupid or incapable of achieving on the highest levels. We must remember that what they are is poor, hurt, damaged and full of anger. The healing of those wounds is part of the obligation of the teaching profession, and the responsibility of all of us who are fortunate enough not to be in such continuous and involuntary pain. *Herbert Kohl*

PRETORIA AND TEL AVIV

Oakland, Calif.

In its discussion of "role models" for provocative and counterproductive attacks, the incisive May 31 editorial "Terror Tactics" might have noted that not only does the Pretoria "battle plan" follow the Israeli example, so does the Reagan Administration's.

Since 1984, Administration officials have been expressing admiration for Israel's aggressive stance on "terrorism." The Israel ambassador to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanyahu, has put himself forward as an expert on fighting it; an institute named after his brother Jonathan (who died in the famous Israeli raid on Entebbe airport) has attracted the participation of top politicos of both the Democratic and Republican parties and an academic field—is it called terrorism studies?—has rapidly come into its own, if not on campus then certainly on television. Comments from Israeli leaders after the Reagan attack on Libya sounded like those of a teacher commending a pupil for a lesson learned well.

Also, in noting the way the United States uses "its overseas subsidiary," Israel, to extend support quietly to Pretoria while putting on a good rhetorical show of opposition to apartheid, it would have been helpful to distinguish which part of the U.S. government derives satisfaction from this behavior. I would suggest that the Reagan White House does, while members of Congress are merely indifferent, complacent or nervous about confronting Israel on this sensitive issue.

One exception is Representative John Conyers, who has focused Congressional attention on the nuclear weapons test Israel and South Africa carried out in the South Atlantic in 1979, and on the implications of a nuclear-armed white minority government, some of which can be imagined after observing South Africa's recent set of cross-border raids. Hearings on the nuclear test promised to Conyers a year ago have yet to be scheduled. Pressure from constituents will probably be needed before a date is set, just as such pressure will (if anything will) prompt Congress to deal with the other disturbing aspects of the Tel Aviv–Pretoria relationship. The distinction does make a difference. *Jane Hunter*

Israeli Foreign Affairs

AMPLIFICATION

Kai Bird and Max Holland wish to set the record straight on a matter discussed in their February 8 article, "The Tapping of 'Tommy the Cork.'" They wrote that Thomas Corcoran arranged to have the only extant copies of the transcripts of the F.B.I. wiretaps on him, held by the Truman Library, "made accessible." The library's director noted recently that, contrary to Bird and Holland's information, Corcoran "did not discuss the transcripts with us, much less give us permission to use them. We opened the material on our own initiative."

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muscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine ınot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts ess they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers,* Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen, Richard Snyder; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Phillip Frazer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

March to Azania

The South African government's extraordinarily brutal response to the day of remembrance for the Soweto uprising of 1976 has achieved exactly what it was intended to avert: the conversion of a civil nflict into an international crisis. The declaration of a new ıte of emergency, the imposition of total censorship and e use of military force to suppress peaceful dissent have lvanized opposition to apartheid throughout the world to new level of determination. The debate on sanctions in the U.S. Congress and the British Parliament, the special U.N. conference on South Africa in Paris and action in the streets of several countries indicate the degree to which a movement for equality in one country has become a global struggle.

Pretoria knows it has the means to contain the local movement in the confines of its own power. It must suspect by now that it cannot indefinitely stop the larger campaign. For support it looks to its reluctant allies—called trading partners in the current euphemism—but sees a rapid erosion of sympathy, a dangerous marker for a change of policy. Their situations are vastly different, but President Botha might

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consult with former President Marcos to determine how international public opinion, the American media and the foreign policy establishment in Washington can perform diplomatic démarches against overwhelming military strength.

The important difference between the Philippines and South Africa is one of alternatives. Manila's major trading partner and political protector could countenance a change in government if the new regime did not seriously threaten the partnership or question the protection. Pretoria's partners—Britain, the United States, Japan, West Germany and the other leading Western democracies— have so far been unable to locate a realistic, popular alternative force in South Africa that would not jeopardize the internal and international relationships so important to them. In the meantime, reform is permissible only from the top. The most powerful argument against sanctions is not that they won't work but that they will, that they will undercut the government's rule and thus destroy the basis for South Africa's continued participation in the Western corporate and strategic system.

It may be more historic justice than irony that the major industrialized democracies have now become the principal supporters of the world's leading practitioner of fascism. The white minority government in Pretoria may not organize its affairs according to fascist ideology (thus allowing Secretary of State Shultz to find heartwarming evidence of democratic tendencies), but it uses a wide range of courses from the menu of Nazism against the majority of its subjects. Racism is enshrined in its fundamentalist Christian credo and institutionalized at every stage of social organization. Racial inferiors are stigmatized, brutalized, used as cheap labor and, when they are not needed, shipped off to isolated reservations that are in effect vast internment camps. Critics are called communists and worldwide opposition is characterized as a conscious conspiracy led by the Soviet Union and its minions. Normal police procedure amounts to the official use of terror.

President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher and the colleagues they meet annually at those delightful economic summits may not like the style of South Africa's government, and indeed they may fear that it will come down in disaster, but they are bound to lend a hand until they are assured that its successor would preserve their interests. One of the less appealing aspects of democratic capitalism is that it is more concerned with capital than with democracy. For "the West" to abandon the Botha government now, its leaders believe, would be to encourage the creation of a new South Africa independent of their influence. Azania is the nightmare that roams the corridors of the White House and 10 Downing Street when the evening news goes off.

The heightened urgency of the international campaign against apartheid growing out of the events of June 16 may pressure the Western leaders to seek an interim solution to the conflict, but it is unlikely to produce a sudden capitulation in Washington and London to the demands for radical change in South Africa. This is going to be a long fight, for it goes to the very heart of the world economic order, as it has been organized since the heyday of colonization. The crisis comes when it appears impossible for the latest organizers to maintain the old order, and unacceptable to allow a new one to emerge.

'Pineapple Face'

Bull-necked and broad-browed, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega isn't liked in Panama, which he rules from his post as head of the Panama Defense Forces. Street kids call him "pineapple face," and opposition parties burn him in effigy. Now Noriega knows he isn't liked in Washington, either.

Charges against Noriega that have circulated in Panama for more than a year recently reached the front page of *The New York Times*. Two articles by Seymour Hersh on June 12 and 13 cited unnamed U.S. government sources who accused Noriega of trafficking in drugs, running guns to the M-19 guerrilla group in Colombia, selling National Security Agency secrets to Cuba and instigating the murder of one of his most vocal political opponents. Marvin Kalb reported on NBC that Noriega has been salting away his profits in a Swiss bank. From Washington, where he was visiting the Inter-American Defense Board, Noriega bolted for home amid the bad publicity. In an interview published in *The Times* last week he denied all the charges and said they had been concocted by his domestic rivals.

The general's usefulness to the United States has been the subject of a behind-the-scenes debate in Washington for some months. The State Department publicly criticized Noriega last September, when he provoked a political crisis by deposing President Nicolás Ardito Barletta, a former vice president of the World Bank favored by the U.S. Embassy in Panama. The Pentagon has backed the general, arguing that his firm hand on the levers of power protects the Panama Canal, which is scheduled to revert to Panamanian control in the year 2000. The latest press reports should cheer the State Department. Noriega's days are numbered.

His likely departure will remove a thorn in the side of U.S. diplomacy in Central America. Despite its decades of support for venal, vicious dictators in the region, Washington gives great lip service these days to Latin American democracy. Its target, of course, is Nicaragua. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams can't so easily call for "free elections" in Nicaragua while Noriega wields an iron fist in Panama, a strategic ally. Getting rid of Noriega, the State Department hopes, will tighten the noose around Managua.

What's next for Panama? For one thing, the business elite that was ousted by Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos after his reformist military coup of 1968 may soon return to power. Torrijos opened up his government to young technocrats and junior military officers, and encouraged trade unions, military civic action projects and greater social spending. Torrijos's finest hour came when he wrested the Panama Canal from the United States, thus giving meaning to Panamanian sovereignty.

Under Noriega, "Torrijismo" has become military rule

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inus Torrijos's reformist goals, with Noriega and his llow officers accumulating expensive cars and fancy ›uses. Opportunist that he is, Noriega claims that the ıarges against him are being used by U.S. rightists in an atmpt to deny Panama control of the canal.

If Panama's political future is determined by the outcome an argument between the State Department and the Pengon, it will be an ironic end to the legacy of Torrijos, ıose burning desire was to free his nation from the cossus to the north. Noriega should go, but not because ashington wills it.

MERRILL COLLETT

errill Collett is a Caracas-based journalist who covers ıtin American affairs for several newspapers and magaıes in the United States, Britain and Canada.

Reasons of State

After a yearlong battle waged at the highest level of government, a revised extradition treaty between the United States and Britain will soon reach the Senate floor, where its ratification seems virtuy assured. Irish-Americans, civil libertarians, jurists and ›st Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee posed the measure in its original form, which would have minated the "political offense exception" to extradition. The treaty is aimed at facilitating extradition of Irish ›ublicans imprisoned in this country, who in the past have ccessfully fought extradition by proving to American dges that the acts they are accused of committing in Brit-ı are part of an ongoing campaign against British rule in ›rthern Ireland, and thus are political offenses. Using this ıim, Joseph Doherty, who is wanted by the British for his le in the killing of a member of the Special Air Services, s resisted extradition for three years. Ruling on Doherty's se in December 1984, Federal Judge John Sprizzo stated at the facts in the case "present the assertion of the politi-l offense exception in its most classic form." This past arch a Federal Court of Appeals ruled that the government's empt to overturn Sprizzo's ruling was without foundation. President Reagan made the treaty the centerpiece of his lministration's "antiterrorism" campaign, urging ratifiion as a show of gratitude to Britain and Prime Minister ıatcher for standing "shoulder to shoulder" with the ıited States during the bombing of Libya.

The original proposal raised numerous objections, acrding to Father Sean McManus of the Irish National Cauş, a Washington-based lobbying group, because it took ›m the courts the authority to determine what constitutes ›olitical act and placed it with the State Department. The ıcus declared that it was satisfied with the revised treaty, ıich was approved by the Foreign Relations Committee on ne 12, because it "guarantees the . . . rights of American dges to take evidence on whether Irish defendants would ›eive fair trials if they are extradited to Britain." It failed point out, however, that by severely limiting the political offense exception, the proposed treaty expands the State Department's power to decide extradition cases and restricts the courts' jurisdiction.

Since 1982 nearly 500 Irish republicans have been charged with acts against the state in special courts in Northern Ireland solely on the evidence of "supergrasses"—government informers who are given financial rewards and new identities in return for their testimony. This uncorroborated testimony is heard by a single British judge with no jury present. An amendment sought by Senators Joseph Biden, John Kerry and Christopher Dodd, which would have allowed U.S. Federal judges to scrutinize the state of civil liberties in Northern Ireland during the course of extradition hearings, was rejected by both governments.

The new version of the treaty lets both sides claim victory. Senator Richard Lugar, chair of the committee and a supporter of the treaty, defends it on the ground that it sharply restricts the use of the political offense exception by disallowing it for murder, hostage taking and the use of explosives, while opponents of the original version could say the political offense exception still applies in some instances. Senator Jesse Helms voted against the compromise because of his concern that it would set a precedent for the extradition of Central American *contras* and Afghan rebel fighters.

Although the Irish National Caucus accepts the compromise, it remains opposed to a retroactive provision in the measure that will make Irish republicans like Doherty, who has spent the past few years in prison, one of the first deportees under the revised treaty. Political exiles from other countries may eventually share his fate. It is rumored that the Administration will propose revising the political offense exception in U.S. extradition treaties with West Germany and Israel later this year. As other ethnic communities are touched by similar treaty reforms, we can expect that the need for altering a hallowed canon of American law will again be challenged. The political offense exception would have protected such dissidents as José Martí, Eamon De Valera and Benigno Aquino from extradition. That is why Charles Rice of Notre Dame Law School told the Foreign Relations Committee last summer: "This treaty is an affront to the rule of law. . . . If it is ratified, every ethnic and national group in America ought to be concerned." The testimony of Christopher Pyle, professor of constitutional law at Mount Holyoke and author of the forthcoming *Extradition, Political Crimes and American Law*, is also pertinent:

> It was to insure that political offenders would not be surrendered that we wrote the political offense exception into our treaties. The revised treaty would do nothing to facilitate the extradition of true terrorists—who are already extraditable under the "wanton crimes" exception of judicial practice. . . . Now comes an Administration that wants to undo the work of Jefferson, Marshall and Webster—and that does not respect the line they drew between foreign policies and law, that wants to surrender persons for reasons of state.

MARK LIEBERMAN

Mark Lieberman is the editor of the "Northern Ireland Newsletter" in Belfast.

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CALVIN TRILLIN

We've decided not to hire Michael Deaver as our Washington lobbyist.

We are an organization of people who have to travel constantly in our jobs—traveling salesmen, reporters, regional auditors, people who cross state lines to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, I.R.S. examiners, itinerant confidence men.

We are the American Association of Traveling People, known as AATP. We realize that AATP is difficult to pronounce. That's intentional: while you're trying to figure out how to pronounce it, we sneak ahead of you in the rental-car line.

We have any number of problems, but there's no doubt about which item is at the top of our Washington want list: a presidential order stating that any city that does not have the route to its airport clearly marked will lose all of its major league franchises.

A year or so ago, when it was announced that Michael Deaver was about to set up a lobbying firm, we had a meeting to consider hiring him as our lobbyist. He had, after all, become one of the three most powerful people in the White House, an impressive achievement for someone whose most serious talents were said to lie in the direction of knowing precisely which camera angle was most flattering to each of Nancy Reagan's ball gowns. He is so close to Ronald and Nancy Reagan that he is often said to be like a son to them—something that has never been said of any of their own children.

One of our board members—Harry Green, a traveler in mid-priced ladies sportswear—did bring up a few incidents that had led him to believe Deaver has what Harry referred to as "an ethical blind spot in both eyes."

Harry reminded us that Deaver had once recommended for a job on the Postal Service Board of Governors someone who had just arranged a large loan for him. In Reagan's first term, Harry said, only a public uproar prevented Deaver from going through with plans to publish a diet book while he was serving as the deputy chief of staff of the White House. (The first week's menu in the Reagan White House Diet Book, I suppose, would simply tell you to live on what's now offered in the school lunch program. Then you'd spend the next week eating as if you were a pensioner faced with the cutbacks in the food stamp program. You've lost fourteen pounds.)

Harry reminded me that I myself had once offered as a theory on how Ronald Reagan got scheduled to visit Bitburg cemetery the possibility that Michael Deaver, who was advance man for the trip, had no time to find out if there happened to be any S.S. troops buried there because he was too busy choosing extras for the Mercedes he had arranged to buy at diplomat's discount with his temporary diplomatic passport.

I told Harry that maybe he was being too strict, holding someone in the White House to the ethical standards of the dress business. After all, Edwin Meese had financial dealings with any number of people he later helped appoint to jobs, and he is now the Attorney General. Also, the man in charge of maintaining ethical standards at the White House, a man who these days must feel a bit like the high-school history teacher who has been designated to enforce the no-drinking rule at the all-night graduation party, cleared Deaver on the Mercedes deal with the same sort of ringing endorsement that Meese got—something like "not overtly and obviously and explicitly against the law at the time he did it, at least not in a way anyone could prove."

Harry got desperate enough to come around to my way of thinking one day while he was racing for the last plane out of some city in Ohio: he somehow managed to follow a bewildering hodgepodge of signs to Buzz Landon Memorial Field, arriving ten minutes before the flight to discover that Buzz Landon Memorial Field was the sort of field upon which small boys play Little League baseball.

We were about to approach Deaver when the controversy erupted about whether, in lobbying on issues like acid rain, he had broken the law prohibiting government employees from lobbying for a year on any issue with which they have been "personally and substantially" involved. I was for hiring him anyway. Everytime I thought of poor Harry Green screeching to a stop in front of Landon Field just in time to see a 9-year-old shortstop juggle a grounder, I realized anew that these are desperate times.

Then Deaver began defending himself. First, he said that he would never exploit his relationship with the Reagans—the very relationship we were going to hire him to exploit. Then, he made what amounted to a claim that he hadn't been involved substantially with issues like acid rain because he had never been involved substantially with anything—a claim the lawyers must call the Lightweight Defense. He said that he still doesn't understand what acid rain is.

Harry saw that quote and put his foot down. "If he doesn't understand what acid rain is, he'll never understand what it's like trying to find the rental-car drop-off place when the arrow seems to point to the long-term parking," he said.

We called an extraordinary session of the board, asking all the members to come to Washington from wherever they were at the end of the week so that we could interview other lobbyists. Unfortunately, the board members failed to arrive. They all got lost on the way to the airport.

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NOS CULPA?

The Washington Post reports that when Reagan was pondering a replacement for Warren Burger he was "provided with" a *Nation* article by Herman Schwartz saying the Court had moved to the right after the "rigidly ideological" Sandra Day O'Connor joined William Rehnquist on the bench. *The Post*'s next sentence reads, "Reagan quickly zeroed in on Rehnquist."

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

This is my country and it might be yet,
But something came between us and the sun.

As the old man threw off these lines, he turned his blind, smiling face to me and asked, "Do they still read much Edmund Blunden in England?" I was unsure of what might give pleasure, but pretty certain in saying that Blunden was undergoing one of his eclipses. "What a shame," said Jorge Luis Borges. "But then you still have Chesterton. I used to live in Kensington, you know. What a writer! Such a pity he became a Catholic."

The changes of pace in a conversation with Borges seemed alarming at the time, but in retrospect showed nothing but one's own nervousness. He was always searching for a mutually agreeable topic, and seemed at times to fear that it was he, lonely, sightless and claustrated, who might be the dull partner in chat. When he found a subject that would release, he began to bubble and grin, and even to tease.

I had made my way to Maipu 994, near the Plaza San Martin, and found apartment 6b, after a great deal of discouragement. Argentine government officials, usually so quick to sing the splendors of their country, became curiously *diminuendo* when I asked if Borges was well enough to receive visitors. "He does not welcome guests, *señor*. He does not welcome invitations either. It is better not to trouble him." At last I simply dialed his number, imagined him working his way across the room as it rang, and was rewarded with an invitation to call on him whenever I chose. This was at the height of General Videla's pogrom, and I had already learned that a private telephone conversation in Buenos Aires was a difficult thing to have.

Borges didn't care about this, partly because he heartily approved of the generals then in power. He gave me the couplet from Blunden as an instance of his feelings for Juan Perón, who had persecuted him and his family. But we didn't touch on that until much later. He wanted to discuss English and Spanish as mediums of literature. "I was speaking Spanish and English before I knew there were any such languages. Do you know that in Mexico they say, 'I am seeing you' when they mean 'I will see you'? I find the translation of the present into the future very ingenious. But when I think of the Bible, I think of King James. And most of my reading is in English.

"I began to learn Old English when I went blind in 1955, and it helped me to write 'The Library of Babel.' I made a special pilgrimage to Lichfield once, because of Dr. Johnson. But I *hated* Stratford. Did you learn Old Norse?" No, not really, that is—no. "But would you read me some Kipling?" With pleasure. "Then make it 'The Harp Song of the Dane Women.' And, please, read it slowly. I like to take long, long sips."

> What is a woman that you forsake her,
> And the hearth-fire and the home-acre,
> To go with the old grey widow-maker? . . .

When I had finished he sat for a while and said, "Kipling was not really appreciated in his own time because all his peers were socialists. Will you come and read me more Kipling tomorrow?" I said yes.

Next day I led him down a spiral staircase on my arm, and took him to lunch. He talked of how reverse and obverse were the same to him, so that infinity was almost banal. He said that he always felt utterly lost when he was dreaming, which was perhaps the source of the recurrent labyrinth in his writing. I asked him why he had always been so polite about Pablo Neruda, and he replied that while he much preferred Gabriel García Márquez, he didn't want anyone to think that he was jealous of Neruda's Nobel Prize. "Though when you see who has had it! Shaw! Faulkner! Still, I would grab it. I feel greedy." He said later, "Not giving me the Nobel Prize is a minor Swedish industry."

I read him lots more Kipling and Chesterton, until the time came to part. Could I come back again? Alas, I had to fly to Chile that evening. "Ah, well if you see General Pinochet, please present him with my compliments. He was good enough once to award me a prize, and I consider him a gentleman." I don't remember what I answered to that, but I do remember that it made a perfect match with the rest of his general conversation. He delighted in saying that the Videla government was one of "gentlemen rather than pimps." He explained to me the precise etymology of the Argentine slang for pimp, which was *canfinflero* or, as he also relished saying, "cunter." Although he was aloof from the cold war ("Why should we choose between two second-rate countries?"), he loathed the idea of the mob and the many-headed. For him, English literature was a respite from all that. "My 'Dr. Brodie's Report' is taken from Swift. And 'Death and the Compass' is like Conan Doyle in 3-D."

Long before war broke out between his homeland and his beloved England, Borges had seen through the Videla regime. He had signed a public protest about the 15,000 "disappeared," an act that was perhaps the more powerful for having been so belated. He had spoken against the idea of a macho war with Chile over the stupid issue of the Beagle Channel. And his poem deploring the Falklands war was as ironic and eloquent as anything written in Buenos Aires could afford to be. For a man who told me, "I spend my days alone, in daydreams and the evolution of plots," he was astoundingly alive to "the outside" and peculiarly ready to take risks. I can never hear the sneer about "ivory towers" without reflecting that Borges, who was confined to one by his blindness, managed to make honorable amendments to his cherished point of view.

As I left him, he said he would like to give me a present. I made the usual awkward refusals, but he pressed on and recited a poem which he told me I would not forget. Looking me in the eye, as it were, he said:

> What man has bent o'er his son's sleep, to brood
> How that face shall watch his when cold it lies?—
> Or thought, as his own mother kissed his eyes,
> Of what her kiss was when his father wooed?

This remains the only Dante Gabriel Rossetti sonnet I can unfailingly recall.

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ARTICLES.

WHEN ALL SYSTEMS AREN'T GO

Engineers' Duty To Speak Out

DAVE LINDORFF

For eight years before the space shuttle Challenger's seventy-three-second flight, on January 28, engineers at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and at Morton Thiokol knew that its huge solid-fuel booster rockets were badly designed. And the night before the fatal launch, when the temperature dropped below freezing at Cape Canaveral many of them feared the infamous O-rings would fail.

A number of those engineers voiced their concerns, sometimes vigorously, to their superiors in the corporate hierarchy and the NASA bureaucracy. They were ignored, and no one went to the press or to a member of Congress. No one tried to reach the astronauts themselves. Instead, high-level engineers at Thiokol reportedly donned their "management hats," and acted in what were considered the best interests of the firm, telling NASA what it wanted to hear. And low-level engineers "held their breath"—as they told colleagues—and went back to work.

Now a presidential commission investigating the explosion has released its report, concluding that "serious flaws" in NASA's decision-making process helped cause the disaster. The problems highlighted by the commission are hardly unique to NASA; rather, they reflect a deeper malaise in corporate America, where hushing up, and punishing, Cassandras is often the rule.

NASA's rush to launch in the face of engineering objections is, in the view of some, typical of American corporate behavior. Although NASA is a government agency, not a business, by trying to make the shuttle commercially viable, NASA subjected its operations to business considerations almost from the outset. Furthermore, the agency is essentially a coordinator of the work of a large number of private corporations, where most of the engineers and technicians in question are employed.

"If somebody saw something going on that was unsafe, they'd probably say something about it to their supervisor, but in this company, not many people would go outside with that information if their complaints were ignored." The speaker is not from Morton Thiokol. He's a chemical engineer at Union Carbide, the multinational chemical company notorious for its giant toxic gas leak in Bhopal, India. In light of the evidence that company officials were warned in advance about problems at the Bhopal facility and went ahead with operations until there was a disaster which killed some 2,000, his words are ominous.

Dave Lindorff is a member of the National Writers Union.

"Most of the engineers at Union Carbide think of themselves as part of the company," he confides. "They refer to Union Carbide as Uncle Charlie, and they'd have a hard time going to the press about a problem. Besides, if you were identified, that would be the end of your career."

Such a view is all too common among the hands-on experts involved in most companies. "What happened to the shuttle is just like what happened a few years ago with the Ford Pinto," says Seymour Melman, an industrial engineer at Columbia University, referring to the car's propensity for blowing up when bumped from the rear by another vehicle. "You had plenty of engineers inside Ford warning executives that they had this problem with the gas tank, but even though correcting the problem would have cost only a few dollars a car, the company ignored the warnings and continued with the design."

As in the case of the shuttle, the engineers wrote memorandums to management. But when their pleas were ignored, they fell silent. As a result, about forty people died in explosions before Ford, facing lawsuits for millions of dollars in damages, moved to correct the problem. But even as it was recalling the Pintos to make alterations, Ford was producing Mustang IIs with the same generic flaw.

How can it be that people know about a life-threatening problem and let it pass? For corporate management the answer is easy. As testimony in the Ford Pinto product liability cases demonstrated, judgments are made by considering potential liability versus the cost of rectifying a problem. It's called a cost-benefit study, and if the potential cost in legal damages from not correcting a design flaw seems less than the cost of fixing it, no correction is made. The long list of such decisions, and the resulting disasters, have involved Ford transmissions that jump from park to reverse without warning, Babcock & Wilcox nuclear reactors prone to catastrophic failure, DC-10 jets with too few backup hydraulic systems, drugs and pesticides that are carcinogenic or cause birth defects, and intrauterine devices that cause infections and sterility. But what about the engineers and production people who design and maintain today's technological products—people who are supposed to take a professional view of their work?

The shuttle explosion is "another example of the accelerating degradation of the status of the engineer in the American corporation," says Ralph Nader. "The profit motive is overriding engineering concerns at exactly the time when engineers' views are becoming crucially important. What happened [at NASA and Morton Thiokol] is instructive: not only were the engineers overruled by management; they were so afraid of retaliation that they didn't go outside the chain of command." They had good reason to be, too. Morton Thiokol's first reaction to the disaster was to punish Allan McDonald and Roger Boisjoly, the engineers who testified before the presidential commission, by reassigning them and reducing their responsibilities. In the glare of publicity, the company eventually transferred three executives responsible for approving the launch (a fourth

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retired) and reinstated the two men, putting McDonald in charge of the redesign of the booster.

The nuclear industry is probably even tougher on employees who complain about safety hazards, according to Louis Clark, executive director of the Government Accountability Project (GAP), a whistleblower support organization in Washington. "They fire anybody who goes outside the company, even to the N.R.C., which an engineer is required to do by law when nuclear safety issues are involved. And the N.R.C. itself always turns the names of whistleblowers over to the companies, which means they're finished. There is also an industry blacklist—we've proved it in some firing cases we've fought."

Although intimidation no doubt plays a big role in the problem, there may be a deeper explanation. Says Melman:

> The problem is that the engineers, at least here in the United States, don't organize independently. They have no kind of protection—even the engineering societies don't come to the aid of someone who protests. There's even a name for those who do stand up: "whistleblower." Think about it. What does that imply: a lone guy making noise! Engineers, and people in production in general, willingly subordinate themselves to management, totally, and this is the kind of thing that happens. In the Soviet Union it's called democratic centralism—you argue and debate until the leadership reaches a decision, and then you shut up and go along. Here in the United States it's just called putting on your management cap. In the end, they're the same thing. The only difference is that here, after a disaster, you learn about it because we have a tradition of independent institutions, like the *The New York Times* or National Public Radio.

"The code of ethics of engineers says if you are overruled on a matter of safety by management you *shall* go to the proper authority," says Dan Pletta, professor emeritus at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, an engineer who has spent much of his life trying to get professional engineering societies to act more forcefully in defense of whistleblowing members of the profession, and trying to raise the issue of ethics more generally among his colleagues. "But where is the 'proper authority'? They don't say. The problem is that, for the most part, when people raise complaints they get fired."

Pletta says several of the engineering societies have safety committees that are supposed to investigate members' complaints independently, but he says the systems aren't working. The reason? "People don't know they exist, for one thing. I did a survey and found that 59 percent of the members of the National Society of Professional Engineers [the organization that represents most engineers in corporate employment] didn't even know such a committee existed, and the society doesn't really want to support such activity or publicize it, for fear of liability suits, etc."

Certainly the attitude among future engineers, the students at major universities and technical institutes, doesn't bode well. Louis Guy, president-elect of the American Academy of Environmental Engineers, says that few departments of engineering even offer ethics courses, adding: "I was recently interviewing an applicant for membership in our academy, and I asked him at one point, in discussing his career, whether he considered himself a job holder or a professional. He just gave me this blank stare. The concept never occurred to him, and that's scary!"

The argument is echoed by Ralph Nader: "This should lead to a big debate in engineering circles, but it probably won't. There's no interest. Engineers see themselves as technicians, not professionals, for the most part."

After McDonald, the ranking engineer on the solid-fuel rocket project at Morton Thiokol, testified before the presidential commission, the reaction of several engineering students at the Polytechnic Institute of New York in Brooklyn was probably all too typical. "I hope he's looking for a job in academia. Nobody's going to hire him in industry now!" one student remarked, to a chorus of agreement from other engineering students riding to classes in an elevator with him.

The students' grim view of the corporate culture in which they hope eventually to work is not unwarranted. "There are lots of companies that say they have whistleblower programs," says Clark, at GAP's office in the Institute for Policy Studies. "Then it turns out that these just exist to isolate and identify the whistleblowers, and get rid of them."

The current merger trend in corporate America has further undermined the position of engineers. With each merger another complex industrial process comes under the management and control of a group of corporate executives who have little or no technical knowledge of what is being done. The top management at Morton Thiokol hails from Morton-Norwich Products, a specialty chemical firm best known for making Morton Salt, which gobbled up Thiokol in 1982. Says Guy:

DRAWINGS BY RANDALL ENOS

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> Mergers do present an added problem. You have the M.B.A. syndrome of making short-term profits, with blinders where consequences five years later are concerned. With takeovers, you can have the milking of a company for whatever you can get out of it becoming the end justification. And the business schools preach that management is an art, almost a mystique. Once you have it you can manage anything. So the M.B.A. doesn't need any engineering expertise to run a technical system.

Add to that what Guy says is a tendency among engineers who move into management to say, "I don't do engineering anymore," and you have the makings of a disaster.

Some states have responded to the problem by passing statutes protecting people who go public with information about safety hazards, but few have proved effective either in protecting jobs or in encouraging civic-minded behavior. Russell Mokhiber of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law thinks the answer is to encourage stiff prosecution of key individuals in companies when warnings are ignored. "If you personalize the crime, people will start holding management to the kind of moral standards the larger society has," he suggests, adding that perhaps the principle of limited liability which is the legal basis of corporations is fundamentally flawed. "The philosophy of limited liability has spread through the whole management hierarchy of the American corporation," he says, "and if you can't have a lawful or ethical corporation, maybe you shouldn't have corporations in the first place."

In the meantime, engineering societies and technical schools had better start pushing the idea of professional behavior and social responsibility on members and students. Few schools offer ethics courses; even at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the nation's premier school for engineers, there is no required course in ethics, although several are offered as electives. But courses alone may not be the answer; when they exist, they are sparsely attended. However, some students do question the prevailing corporate morality, as the annual student-organized alternative jobs fair at M.I.T. demonstrates.

On the professional side there have been some positive developments, as evidenced by the efforts of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, a leading engineering society. Most recently it presented an award for outstanding public service to Richard Parks, a nuclear engineer who lost his job with the Bechtel Group for questioning the safety of some clean-up operations he was involved in at Three Mile Island.

But these are small steps. As technology advances, the consequences of managers ignoring engineering and production workers become increasingly awesome, as the shuttle explosion, the T.M.I. accident and the Chernobyl meltdown amply demonstrate. Society cannot afford to have those who can spot developing problems just "doing their job." Perhaps the best near-term solution is for engineers and other white-collar technical workers to follow the example of industrial colleagues in Europe and Australia and form trade unions, to give them some protection and independence from the whims of bosses who put private profits before the public's safety. □

POST-SECULARISM

The Islamic Wave Hits Turkey

DILIP HIRO

When the Moslem month of Ramadan begar on May 9, state-run Turkish radio and tele vision stations increased the number o Islamic programs. The government was thu keeping pace with a continuing drift toward an Islami revival in a country that, under the leadership of Mustaf Kemal Ataturk, adopted a secular Constitution nearly sixt years ago. So far, the reverberations have been primaril cultural, but Islam is playing a growing role in the nation' politics and influencing Turkey's foreign policy as well.

Women wearing veils or head scarves are becoming a common sight even in the cosmopolitan metropolis of Istan bul. On the streets of small provincial cities like Bursa, o the eastern coast of the Marmara Sea, middle-aged, bare headed women in Western dress are the exception.

After a long period of neglect and demolition by the state mosques are officially "in." Two years ago the Departmen of Religious Foundations decided to reconstruct fifteer mosques. At the recent laying of the foundation of Vezi Mosque in Istanbul the mayor called mosques "a symbol o Turkish culture" and stressed the need to preserve them.

Since the abolition of the caliphate, in 1924, the construc tion of Turkish mosques has been funded by voluntary con tributions from the faithful. Judging by the number of new ones built, it is obvious that Turkish citizens, 99 percent o them Moslems, are quite religious. In 1945 there was one mosque for every 1,000 Turks; now there is one for every 700. To put it differently, since World War II the Turkish population has increased two and a half times from 18.7 million to 51.4 million, while the number of mosque has multiplied by three and a half, from 20,000 to 72,000.

Little wonder, then, that when military leaders mounted a coup in 1980 against the elected government, pledging to uphold Kemalist values and to defeat the "followers o fascist and communist ideologies, as well as religious fanatics," they made no attempt to return Turkey to the militant secularism of Kemal Ataturk. In fact, since the generals' overriding objective was to rid Turkish society of Marxist ideology and parties, they encouraged Islamic ideas and education as an antidote. "To combat Marxism morally and intellectually, we had to raise the level of education, particularly religious education," Professor Salih Tug, dean of the Faculty of Divinity at Marmara University in Istanbul, told me.

In 1982 the military regime made the teaching of Islam

Dilip Hiro is the author of Iran Under the Ayatollahs *(Routledge & Kegan Paul). He recently returned from a trip to Turkey.*

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compulsory in the schools; since 1967 it had been optional. Moreover, the leaders of the Islamic fundamentalist National Salvation Party and the fascist National Action Party are now out of jail, but the leading Marxist figures of Turkey are either in prison or in self-exile.

It was during military rule, which lasted until December 1983, that the Higher Institute of Islamic Studies was upgraded to the Faculty of Divinity of Marmara University. Its student body of 1,200 is six times the size it was at the school's inception, in 1959. Before the coup there were only two faculties of divinity in the country; now there are eight. The one at Marmara University boasts a large new mosque which draws its Friday worshippers from on and off the campus.

"The Friday congregation at our mosque is composed largely of young people, with a sprinkling of middle-aged men," said Tug. "Old men are absent. That's not surprising. After all, they grew up during the heyday of Kemalism. In general old city dwellers are the least religious."

The extent of urban religiosity was revealed in a recent study of Kirikkale, a town of 200,000 near Ankara, conducted by Professor Beshir Atalay of Erzerum University. He found that 65.4 percent of the working-class men and 61 percent of the merchants prayed daily. Unlike rural Turks, who are religious by tradition, urban Turks, who now make up 55 percent of the population, are influenced by the mass media. Practically every Turkish family owns a television set.

The adoption of Islamic dress by more and more women of all classes can be partly attributed to Islamic programs on television. "Women wear the veil voluntarily, out of fear of leading a sinful life," said Emile Serdengechti, a sales assistant in Bursa. "The idea of sin has come to them from the religious men who preach on the two-hour-long women's program every Thursday morning." There are, however, no legal restrictions on women's participation in political, social or economic activities.

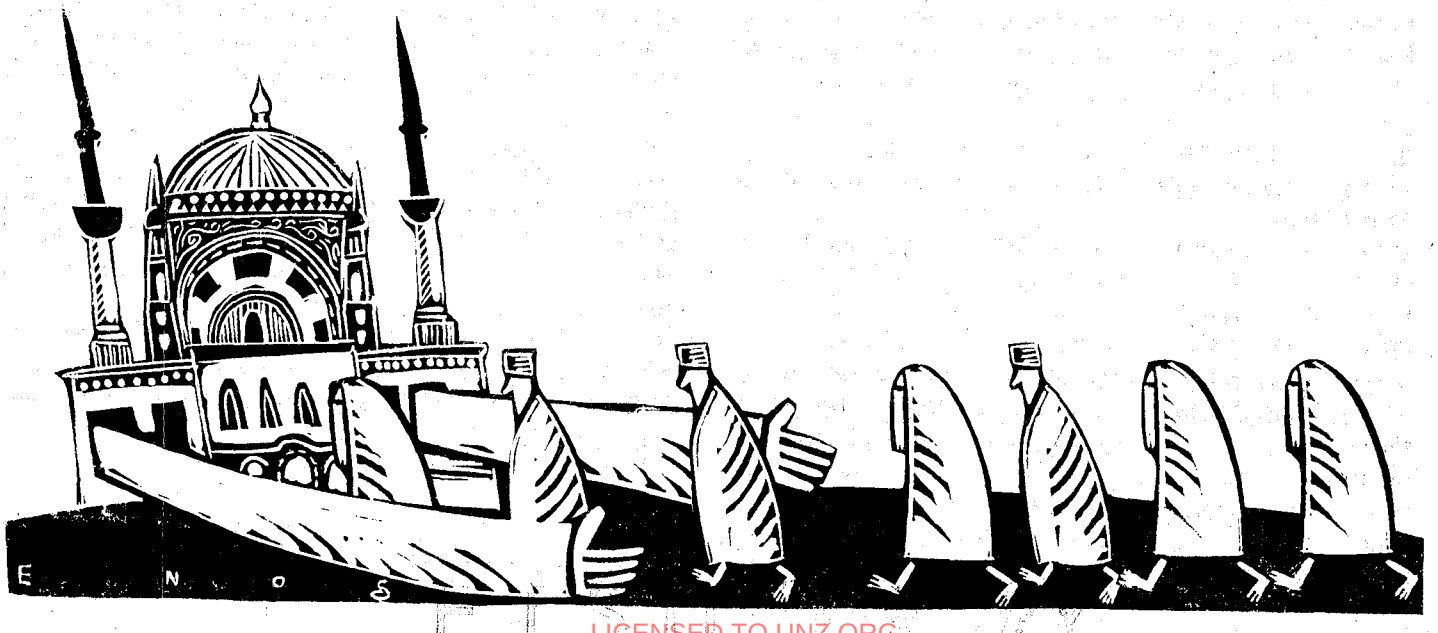
Prime Minister Turgut Ozal appears on the television news almost daily and is never without his prayer beads. He is a pious man and a teetotaler. In 1977 he contested and lost a parliamentary seat as an independent supported by the National Salvation Party, which called for the establishment of an Islamic state in Turkey.

A political conservative and the leader of the ruling Motherland Party, Ozal is widely known to be sympathetic to Islamic groups, including the Sufi brotherhoods, which were banned by Ataturk. Now Sufis are more visible than ever before. Of the three leading brotherhoods—Naqshbandi, Nurju and Suleimanji—the Naqshbandi is the oldest. A Naqshbandi monthly magazine, *Islam*, which has a circulation of 110,000, is one of Turkey's most popular publications. A recent issue contained articles on Moslems in Western countries, including the United States, the Netherlands and Britain; elections in the Sudan; the Iran-Iraq war; and the police rebellion in Egypt last February. A piece on the Islamic renaissance in Spain included an interview with Omar Faruq Abdullah, an American Moslem now living in Granada, Spain. A long article explained how the Iranian revolution swung the balance of forces in the Middle East against the United States.

Three of Turkey's twelve daily newspapers are Islamic in outlook. The *Milli Gazete* is the mouthpiece of the Welfare Party, the reincarnation of the National Salvation Party, which was banned after the coup for religious extremism. Paralleling the rise of an Islamic press is the boom in Islamic publishing. According to Ahmet Kot, a Turkish researcher, at the height of Kemalism, in the mid-1930s, religious books accounted for only 1.7 percent of the total published. Now they constitute 7 percent. Judging from the titles displayed in the book section of the Grand Bazaar near Istanbul University, religious books are a dominant part of the Turkish publishing scene.

Some of the publishers are actively engaged in a debate, current among Islamic intellectuals, over how to make Islam relevant to contemporary problems. Ali Bulac, the founder of Insan Publications in Istanbul, said recently:

> We are very concerned with the question of science and values, the relevance of technology to our society, the ecological and environmental problems of Turkey, the social



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and economic betterment of the vast majority of our people, the provision of absolute justice, the spread of equality, the epistemological basis of our civilization, the flowering of our art and culture, poetry and fiction. We seek Islamic alternatives to these issues.

In the words of Seyfettin Manisaligil, a sociologist at Istanbul University, "The biggest challenge that Islamic intellectuals face is to produce a model of Islamic civilization that is compatible with contemporary urban, industrial society." What about Iran? "Most Islamicists in Turkey like the Iranian revolution but do not agree with its Shiite ideology. Turks are by and large Sunni."

Among Sunnis, fundamentalist views are espoused by the Salafiyans, who believe in adhering to the Islam of their *salafi*, or ancestors, in their politics as well as their personal lives. The Salafiya movement is at variance with Sufism, which absorbed many non-Islamic beliefs and practices that were embedded in the culture of the Turkish tribes. The differences between the Sufis and the Salafiyas present a major stumbling block to a unified Islamic movement. Efforts are being made to initiate exchanges between the leaders of the two movements, with intellectuals like Ali Bulac acting as intermediaries.

There is much ferment in Islamic intellectual circles and more seems to be in the offing. The intellectuals put much of their effort into producing journals and pamphlets and convening small meetings. To them it is only a matter of time before those activities spill over into the political arena.

"Once Islamic intellectuals are integrated into the politic thinking of Turkey, then the situation will change, Manisaligil told me.

The Turkish Constitution bans the creation of an Islam state—or a Marxist one—and Islamic academics ar publishers have no intention of adopting unconstitution methods. For the present, they are concentrating on raisi Islamic consciousness among city dwellers.

The militant Kemalists and leftists are critical of Ozal f allowing the Islamic elements to grow but are in no mood challenge him. They fear that any premature confrontati with the Prime Minister will hinder progress toward a retu to total civilian rule in Turkey. At present Gen. Ken Evren has the final authority, and martial law pertains five out of sixty-seven provinces of Turkey. They wa to keep their cool until the next general election, expect any time between now and late 1988, when they will solid back the Social Democratic Peoples' Party, which will the main challenger to the Motherland Party.

Those developments, while energetically discussed, in the future. What has already changed, and chang substantially, is Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle Ea Ankara's economic and diplomatic ties with the Ar Middle East and Iran have grown closer. Last year 42 pe cent of Turkey's $8 billion in exports went to Islamic cou tries, mainly in the Middle East, an eightfold increase ov the $400 million in exports to the region before the 19 coup. Iran is Turkey's leading customer, and trade betwe

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the two countries runs at $2.3 billion a year. Next come Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia. At the recent Islamic Trade Fair in Casablanca, Morocco, Turkey was a leading participant: eighty Turkish companies exhibited their wares.

Diplomatically, Turkey is steering an independent course. In April, it was quick to criticize the American air raids on Tripoli and Benghazi. Diplomatic and economic links between Turkey and Libya are close; as many as 40,000 Turks work in Libya, and Turkish construction companies do a brisk business there. Because it is not a member of the European Economic Community, Turkey is not obliged to harmonize its foreign policy with the E.E.C. countries.

In January 1981 the military regime sent the Prime Minister to a meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization in Taif, Saudi Arabia, thus giving the I.C.O. a significance it had not previously had. The civilian government has continued this policy. During last year's visit to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Ozal signed an economic agreement worth $850 million. Also last year, 280,000 Turks made pilgrimages to Mecca, twice the number of Iranians.

For their part the Turks are welcoming tens of thousands of Arab tourists every summer. Arabs who dislike or cannot afford to vacation in Europe now flock to Istanbul. "Not long ago most Turks thought of Arabs as a dirty, underdeveloped part of the Ottoman Empire, who betrayed us by siding with the British during the First World War," said Haluk Shahin, a prominent Turkish journalist. "Most Arabs thought that Turks had discarded Islam. But now they feel that Turks are in sympathy with Islamic culture. And Turks see that Arabs are loaded with petrodollars, and far from underdeveloped."

As Turkey's ties to the Arab world have become closer, its relations with Israel have become increasingly cool. Diplomatic recognition of Israel was part of the price the United States extracted from Turkey before letting it join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952. Turkish-Israeli relations began to chill after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, and that trend was accelerated by the 1973 war and subsequent events. Pressures at the I.C.O. meeting in 1981 contributed to Turkey's decision to downgrade its diplomatic links with Israel to the second-secretary level.

"In the early days there was much good will for Israel in Turkey," recalled Leyla Umar, a journalist. "But now we have seen how aggressive Israel is. At the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Ariel Sharon claimed that Eretz Israel included parts of Turkey. Now our sympathies lie with the Palestinians." The Palestine Liberation Organization has an office in Ankara, and Yasir Arafat was received warmly when he visited the Turkish capital in March.

That was bad news for the Reagan Administration. But the Islamic revival itself cannot be causing the State Department much worry. After all, a little dose of religion goes a long way in combating "atheistic Marxism," as exemplified by the United States' great ally Saudi Arabia, the affluent center of Islamic orthodoxy. What would cause concern would be for Turkish Islam to turn revolutionary and anti-

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imperialist, following the Khomeinist model. But there is r immediate prospect of that happening.

Terrorism

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

directives to Libyan diplomats to menace Americai abroad. Qaddafi was accused of making terrorism again Americans the central tenet of his foreign policy and orde ing his agents to strike at U.S. and Israeli targets. Even ske tics must grant that Washington made a strong prima fac case for its charges that Libya engages in state terrorisn with the Soviet Union watching approvingly in the wings

On the other hand the United States' track record in i dealings with Third World states like Libya has been poo It has consistently shown hostility toward leaders of d veloping countries who claim the full plenum of sovereig rights for their nations and who invoke a radical, nationali ideology. Long before Ronald Reagan arrived in the Whi House, Qaddafi had drawn the ire of U.S. leaders for a ho of actions unrelated to state-sponsored terrorism: the clo ing of U.S. bases in his country, the expansion of contro on U.S. oil companies in Libya, the implementation of version of Islamic socialism, the boisterous endorseme and financing of the most radical Palestinian groups, tl tireless propagation of anti-Western attitudes in the Thi World, the intervention in neighboring countries to topp "moderate" (read Western-oriented) heads of state. Tl Reagan Administration's activist foreign policy has gone step further seeking to destabilize, and if possible to ove throw, the Libyan leader.

To this end the United States conducted provocati naval exercises outside the Gulf of Sidra. In late March huge naval task force carried out prolonged maneuvers, an a clash resulted in which dozens of Libyans were killed an at least two patrol boats were sunk. Qaddafi sought to ope diplomatic talks with Washington; his overtures, whic went almost unnoticed by the media, were brushed aside. A the very least the U.S. government baited the hook, hopin to lure Libya into acts that would justify retaliator measures aimed at unseating the Libyan political leadershi The bombing raids on April 14 were carried out in a secre terroristic fashion, with the intention of encouraging Qac dafi's opposition to rise up against him. Not incidentall the raids provided an opportunity to test new weapons sy tems and interventionary tactics, such as long-distanc night bombing raids.

The attack also served domestic political imperatives Reagan was undoubtedly haunted by the memory of Jimm Carter's political decline during the Iranian hostage crisis

Richard Falk, a member of The Nation*'s editorial board, i Albert G. Milbank professor of international law and prac tice at Princeton University. He is the author of* A Study o Future Worlds *(Free Press) and* Human Rights and Stat Sovereignty *(Holmes & Meier).*

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And he was under pressure from conservative critics, who complained that his antiterrorist rhetoric masked the wimpy visage of another Carter. Reagan's speeches portraying Qaddafi as a menace to U.S. interests and an affront to U.S. values also intensified public demands that he retaliate for the bombing of a West Berlin discothèque on April 5, in which two off-duty U.S. servicemen and a Turkish woman were killed, after the Administration announced that it had evidence of Libyan complicity. (That evidence has since been shaken by revelations that the Jordanian suspects arrested in West Germany had Syrian connections and by the Administration's refusal to produce the Libyan telexes allegedly ordering the bombing.)

Polls showed that most Americans shared the Administration's conviction that the only way to combat terrorism is to take military action that inflicts numerous casualties and flaunts the United States' ability to penetrate the territory of Third World countries at will. Yet in justifying the Libyan raid, U.S. officials never claimed that it would stop terrorism. According to a *Newsweek* poll taken a week after the raid, the American public was solidly behind the President, 71 percent to 21 percent. Yet 39 percent of those polled believed that the raid would increase terrorist activity; 33 percent thought it would have no effect; and only 31 percent said it would reduce terrorism.

The government resorted to military force even against the advice of its closest allies. This insistence on going it alone could not be defended as a resolve to resist evil when no one else was willing to, since, as mentioned, the Reagan inner circle never believed the raid would halt terrorism. On the contrary, like the people who responded to the *Newsweek* poll, U.S. officials expected a rise in the number of incidents, and that is what happened, though not as dramatically as was predicted.

Ironically, in the early years of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization it was usually the United States that complained about unilateral actions by its allies—notably, France's war in Indochina and Britain and France's invasion of Egypt in 1956. Now the Europeans are the vociferous critics of unilateralism. The role reversal was apparent after the attack on Libya.

Or was it? Following the raid, the Europeans did take a stronger anti-Libyan line and seemed more willing to cooperate in fighting terrorism. The pledge at the Tokyo economic summit to coordinate antiterrorist measures and the naming of Libya as the prime culprit were viewed by Washington as a vindication of its military action.

The apparent change in the European governments' attitudes has a conventional explanation, however. After expressing their opposition to the use of force, they quickly reverted to their traditional roles as subordinate members of NATO. Also, they were considerably confused as to what to do about terrorism and felt the need to develop a counterterrorist policy.

Nevertheless, there is a difference between supporting a show of force and taking the actions they ultimately took—reducing the Libyan diplomatic presence in their capitals, coordinating intelligence operations and agreeing to share

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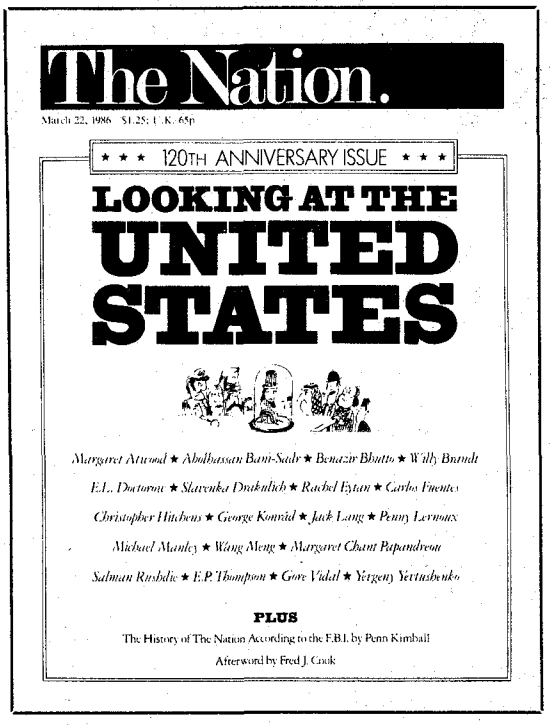
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information and extradite suspects. Europe's opposition to military action and its willingness to cooperate in other ways could be regarded as a step toward a new counterterrorist diplomacy, one which exhibits balance and maturity.

The left in Europe and the United States has been baffled about how to respond to terrorism and has come off looking bad as a result. One reason for the left's seeming disarray is its traditional sympathy with the moral and political grievances that motivate terrorist activity originating in the Third World. There is also a reluctance to give comfort to reactionaries who exploit fears of terrorism to fulfill their antidemocratic, militaristic agenda. The left's reaction reflects its confusion rather than any endorsement of terrorist methods.

But what then does the left suggest? To oppose Reagan's military actions is a sensible move, but it is not a coherent counterterrorism policy. If terrorism persists and receives support from foreign leaders, society's demand for a response becomes irresistible. Fear, frustration and rage make punitive military action immensely popular, even when people believe that it will incite additional attacks. If we merely stand against the tide we will lose legitimacy; we must offer an alternative view.

A counterterrorist program for progressives should include the following elements: (1) a principled repudiation of terrorism against innocent people as an instrument of struggle; (2) a call for the cessation of state-sponsored terrorism, especially by high-technology states against underdeveloped countries; (3) a critique of prevailing U.S. antiterrorism programs, showing how they are calculated to cause fear among the American people and could lead to the breakdown of democracy and an upsurge of interventionist sentiment; (4) a call for positive action on Third World grievances that have generated terrorist tactics in the past; (5) support for counterterrorist law enforcement that relies on prudence, minimizes the media rewards for terrorists and strengthens international law.

Repudiation. The repudiation of terrorism must proceed, first of all, on moral grounds. To kill for political goals should be an absolute last resort. To murder innocent civilians is never acceptable, no matter how flagrant the injustices committed by the other side. In any event, such tactics legitimate repressive countermeasures. Although terrorist tactics are generally counterproductive, in some settings they can gain media attention and place a group's grievances on the political agenda. Thus, terrorism can "work" even though it reduces the prospects for accommodation. For this reason repudiation is not enough. If terrorism is to be made politically unpalatable, there must be mechanisms through which the oppressed and aggrieved can pursue their moral and political claims.

Further, our repudiation of terrorism must not be too simplistic or self-righteous. After all, Europeans and Americans look back on resistance activity against the Nazis as heroic, although civilian targets were sometimes attacked. Zionist terror undoubtedly accelerated the British departure from the Palestine mandate. We have to acknowledge that in certain situations, terrorism has been admired by the West and has achieved the goals of its practitioners.

Furthermore, not all political violence by the oppresse can be classified as terrorism. If the object of an attack is military target or private property rather than civilians, the the debate shifts to the broader issue of the efficacy o violence in a political struggle. Also, if the dominant side i using indiscriminate violence, acts of resistance may b considered defensive in nature.

Given these qualifications, the repudiation of terrorisn must be forthright and genuine. But repudiation alone is no enough, especially when it is coupled with a rejection o retaliatory violence; we must also illuminate the character o terrorism, and its true scope.

First World Terrorism. The propagandists of the moder state conceal its reliance on terrorism and associate it ex clusively with Third World revolutionaries and their leftis sympathizers in the industrial countries. The manipulatio of political language is a powerful weapon of the state i perpetuating this deadly fraud. By and large the term "ter rorism" is used to describe the tactics and methods of th weak, while the indiscriminate violence of the strong is por trayed or glorified under labels such as "patriotism" an "national security," which hide its true character.

High-tech weaponry and tactics are not classified by th media as being terrorist, even when used against refuge camps or when women and children are the victims. Typica First World tactics are to send planes or rely on naval ar tillery and missiles to inflict pain and devastation, in an ex tension of the one-sided wars of the colonial and precolonia eras. In the postcolonial era the use of planes and ships t terrorize Third World adversaries is standard practice an underscores a kind of one-sidedness. Having no legitimat means to retaliate against such incursions, to make Firs World societies share their vulnerability, Third Worl groups and their government sponsors resort to illicit at tacks. It is not surprising that jet planes and airports ar among their favorite targets. These are symbols of high-tecl mobility, of the capability to penetrate the cultural an physical space of low-tech societies. By exposing the vulner ability of the dominant classes of rich societies, terrorist put fear into their hearts. The purpose of terrorism is t make the "other" feel vulnerable.

Looming over all considerations of terrorism is the bomb the prime instrument of terror in our time. The graveyard of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the number-one exhibits o state terrorism. Ronald Reagan's Star Wars delusion repre sents the ultimate high-tech fix, intended to leave the worl subject to the will of U.S. crisis managers behind the shield The Strategic Defense Initiative is the ultimate terrorist fan tasy, concealing its sinister implications in the rationa language of deterrence and defense. Consider the hypocrisy of an Administration that portrays Qaddafi as barbaric while preparing to inflict terrorism on a far grander scale.

That hypocrisy is more blatant in the Administration's support for the *contras* in Central America or the Unita ir regulars in southern Africa. To sponsor violence against th civilian population of foreign countries is to adopt terrorism as a policy. Until the First World renounces state-sponsorec

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terrorism, it is whistling in the wind when it calls for the Third World to do so.

When the U.S. Secretary of State publicly advocates covert actions "intended to be disruptive" against Libya, as George Shultz did on the CBS-TV interview program *Face the Nation* recently, he is claiming a right for the United States that he would not for a moment grant to other states. Such a claim violates one of the fundamental norms of international conduct—the notion of sovereign equality. It plays into the hands of those who hold extremist and nihilistic views, who believe that military power is the only solution for international conflict. This feature of the American approach is perhaps the most disturbing of all.

The practice of terrorism is deeply embedded in First World technology and politics. It is the essence of both interventionism and nuclearism. It would probably be a lot harder for Reagan and Thatcher to repudiate state-sponsored terrorism than it would for Qaddafi and Khomeini. Any counterterrorism policy worth the name must include a convincing indictment of the First World variety.

Critique. As Gary Sick, a former staff member of the National Security Council, reminded us on the *New York Times* Op-Ed page recently, twenty-three Americans were killed as a result of terrorist incidents in 1985, "about one-fourth the number who die each year as a result of being struck by lightning." The State Department's annual survey "Patterns of Global Terrorism," which documents the frequency and character of international terrorist activity, confirms that aside from the 1983 bomb explosion in the U.S. military barracks in Lebanon which killed 241 marines (and which, given the circumstances and the target, would more plausibly be regarded as an act of war), in no year of the 1980s did the number of U.S. fatalities due to terrorism exceed 30. That figure is well below the number of homicide victims reported annually for any one of the twenty largest cities in the United States. In 1984, 601 terrorist incidents were recorded worldwide, resulting in the death of more than 300 people and the wounding of almost 1,000. These are bloody statistics, and the cumulative trend is upward; nevertheless, the risks of injury remain infinitesimal for the average citizen and hardly provide grounds for huddling behind closed doors. Why, then, the extraordinary media hype reinforced by grim warnings in official circles?

One is forced to speculate about hidden and subconscious motives. Could the United States wish to discourage international tourism so as to close the negative trade gap and budget deficit? Might not the fear mongering also be useful to leaders unwilling to deal with difficult issues of social distress at home, such as their failure to protect their own young people against the influx of dangerous drugs? As Walter Karp has brilliantly demonstrated in *The Politics of War*, it has been standard practice for American presidents to create foreign diversions in the face of economic downswings and high domestic unemployment.

Finally, the Administration, mindful that a successful foreign policy depends on bipartisan support, moral enthusiasm and a vivid, menacing enemy, may hope that anti-terrorism will unite the country behind it, just as anti-communism did for administrations in the 1950s and 1960s. Even more grandly, the U.S. leadership in a global crusade against terrorism would re-establish this country's claims to world primacy at a time of growing diplomatic isolation and intercapitalist rivalry.

There are additional factors at work. Governments are increasingly aware that no matter how strong they are militarily and economically, they lack the ability to shield their populations from a determined opponent. A government that cannot protect its citizens against nuclear onslaught has failed to uphold its end of the social contract. But it is one thing to cede vulnerability at the high end of the technology spectrum and quite another to admit it at the low end. This admission breeds frustration and predisposes the state to furious, irrational responses. Secretary of State Shultz's strident calls for strikes on the bases of terrorism are examples of the imperial state behaving like a wounded animal. An intelligent counterterrorism policy would not countenance such behavior. It would associate terrorism with the general decline of the state as the fundamental organizing unit in international affairs. The upsurge of terrorism can be understood as a transitional trauma in the shift from a statist world order to a more globalist, less centralized political arrangement for the planet.

Then, too, the terrorist spectacle is deliberately staged as a kind of theater of the grotesque. Whether it be shooting an aged, handicapped Jew in his wheelchair and throwing him overboard or gunning down tourists waiting for their boarding passes in an airport, the staging of terrorism is aimed at capturing the popular imagination. The fascination with the grotesque so prevalent in modern society makes such tactics especially productive in gaining media attention. Terrorism as news and terrorism as entertainment are uncomfortably

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close. We are all terrorists to the extent that we receive pleasure from witnessing the pain and suffering of others.

All of these suppressed motivations need to be exposed so that the threat of terrorism is reduced to its proper proportions. Such a perspective would itself be a contribution to counterterrorism. After all, the terrorist's strategy is to maximize fear among the general populace by exaggerating the threat to public order, as well as exposing the vulnerability of strong, rich societies to the anger and exploits of the weak. There is an odd convergence of motives between the terrorist who seeks to paralyze the adversary society and the counterterrorist who seeks to mobilize that society in support of unilateralism and retaliatory violence. To break these linkages is crucial.

Positive Foreign Policy. In my view, the most effective counterterrorist approach would arise from a foreign policy that took the sufferings of people in other countries seriously. A progressive orientation would stand in contrast to today's official counterterrorism, which views suffering as irrelevant, or even as a reason to inflate the terrorist danger.

Whatever the motives of governments that sponsor terrorism, and they may be entirely unworthy, their capacity to recruit terrorists and to glorify their deeds rests on widespread public support for their moral claims. To put the issue more concretely, if the Reagan Administration really wanted to put a stop to most varieties of Mediterranean terrorism, it would use its diplomatic and economic leverage in behalf of Palestinian self-determination. Such a policy is not a panacea, and if taken purely for reasons of expediency it would elicit a scornful response. The true reasons for backing the Palestinians' claims to statehood are their identity as a people in a specific territory and their struggle to express that identity in a political form. They deserve to share territory and resources in the region with Israel, and some kind of co-existence based on mutual rights is the only genuine path to peace and justice.

It is the suffering of the Palestinians, not their resort to violence and armed struggle, that is the primary challenge to the West. The same goes for the Irish, the South Africans, the Sikhs and the Armenians, whose tribulations are the soil in which violence flourishes. A foreign policy conducted as if suffering mattered would do much to remove the grounds for terrorism. Of course, such a policy would not be credible unless it grew out of domestic values and practices, and did not arise simply as an afterthought to the terrorist challenge. Counterterrorism must go beyond the level of gestures; it must profoundly challenge the overall ethos of capitalist civilization and, possibly, of secularism and militarism altogether. It is no accident that the most menacing sponsors of terrorism direct their ideological attacks against the decadence of First World modernism, with devastating effect.

Law Enforcement. This also has a place in counterterrorism, especially in a period of transition to an approach based on meeting the challenges of human suffering. Governments have an obligation to protect their people, particularly by establishing adequate security at tempting sites. To some extent, this is now occurring.

In a world in which the other elements of the policy

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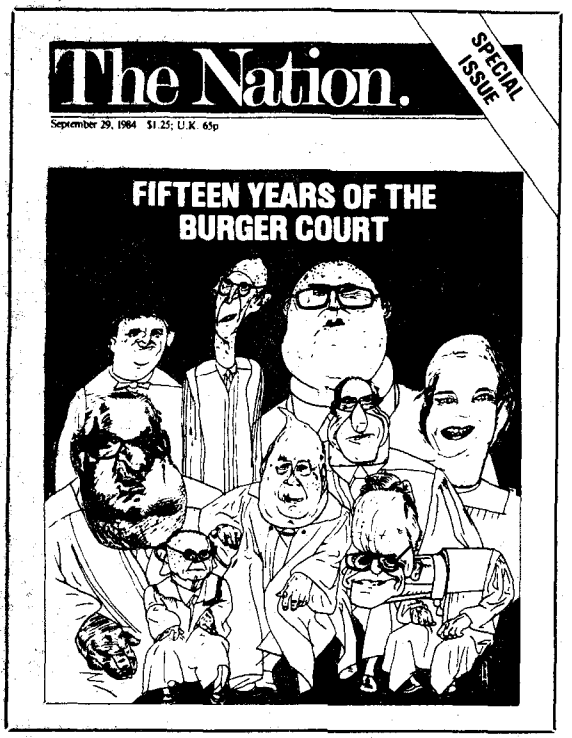

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outlined here were a reality, the practice of terrorism would become even more suspect. It would be easier to mobilize intergovernmental cooperation in identifying and prosecuting suspected terrorists. Procedures for extraditing suspects could be made more effective. An international tribunal could be established to punish terrorism underscoring the international condemnation of it. Presumably, these initiatives would be less necessary in a future with rational counterterrorism programs in place than in the present distorted atmosphere, but there might well be a lag between the abandonment of state-sponsored terrorism in the First World and its renunciation by Third World leaders, as well as by terrorist groups whose prestige is invested in continuing their violent tactics even though they cannot resolve the issues that provoked them.

Alliance Relations. European, Japanese and American progressives find themselves captive to official policies that abet militarism and terrorism in the world. Their objective should be to create a climate of opposition that inhibits official policies, even if they can't change them. The prospects for such a struggle are better in Europe and Japan than in the United States. The Democratic Party is an enfeebled opposition, a milder form of Reaganism but just as dangerous because it lacks flexibility. There is no immediate prospect of principled opposition. At the same time, there are deep doubts in grass-roots America about the overall quality of political leadership being provided. A movement is waiting to be born.

At the same time, neoconservatives are riding high. They emerged from the Libyan affair as the harshest critics of the Atlantic alliance. They believe that Euro-American collective diplomacy weakens the United States' capacity to act decisively in the world. As columnist George Will wrote after the raids on Libya, only through "a healthy, even jaunty, disregard for 'world opinion'" can U.S. foreign policy be truly Reaganized. The pendulum has swung so far toward unilateralism that even Jeane Kirkpatrick has sounded a moderate note, pointing out that a nation that joins an alliance has not lost its political independence outside the limited area of the alliance relationship. NATO, for example, obligates its members to participate in a collective response to a Soviet invasion of Europe and nothing else.

At this stage, it would not be helpful for progressives to reject the moderating effects of the Atlantic alliance. Any sharp Euro-American rupture would undoubtedly strengthen the Reaganites' unilateralism and militaristic foreign policy. What would work best, as in other areas of the struggle for peace and democracy, is to strengthen Euro-American ties at the popular level of social movements. The issue of terrorism belongs on the agenda of the peace movement in both continents, and cooperative efforts are needed to explore whether a progressive and positive stance on counter terrorism can be developed that would win the backing of citizens in various countries. The primary reason for keeping governments together is to enable the people of Europe, Japan and North America to build a popular base for a foreign policy centered around responsiveness to human suffering in its myriad international forms. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Sex and Architecture

ROSEMARIE HAAG BLETTER

LOUIS SULLIVAN: His Life and Work. *By Robert Twombly. Viking. 530 pp. $29.95.*

Robert Twombly's excellent biography of Frank Lloyd Wright cut through the hagiographic fog surrounding that architect. He has now attempted something of the same sort for Louis Sullivan, Wright's most important teacher. But whereas Wright was loquacious and forthcoming about himself (if not always truthful), Sullivan was verbose on the subject of architecture and closemouthed about his personal life. His autobiography, written in the third person, is titled, significantly enough, *The Autobiography of an Idea*. Thus, Twombly has had to begin with an almost blank canvas.

Twombly's assessment of Sullivan's achievement is the conventional one. Although not a structural innovator, Sullivan is conceded to have defined the tall building in an eminently coherent manner. By dividing it into base, midsection and top, Sullivan made the skyscraper, unarguably the structure least hospitable to human scale, comprehensible. The three-part organization was hardly novel, having been the basic definition of most large buildings from the Renaissance onward, but Sullivan skillfully adapted this classical formula to the new utilitarian skyscraper, and at the same time pushed that building beyond its commercial origins with his inimitably artful compositions. Other architects of Sullivan's generation employed the clear organization of beginning, middle and end in skyscrapers, but their designs seldom looked as convincing as his. Postmodern architects have resurrected the formula, although in the contemporary city it is little more than a conceit, since a tall building is hardly ever visible in toto. We see either the top from a distance or the base from close up.

Rosemarie Haag Bletter is an architectural historian who teaches at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. She is the co-author of Skyscraper Style *(Oxford University Press).*

Although Twombly provides interesting background information on the men who financed some of Adler and Sullivan's largest projects, too much of his text consists of tedious, unselective descriptions of the projects themselves. He does not have a particularly acute eye. When he discusses the crucial Wainwright Building in St. Louis (1890), he insists that no one before Sullivan "knew how to express this historically new form [of the skyscraper] logically." But logic may not be the central requirement for a well-designed building. In fact, on the very next page Twombly quotes Sullivan's description of the Wainwright as "a sudden and volcanic design (made literally in three minutes) and marks the beginning of a logical *and poetic* expression of the metallic frame construction." [Emphasis added.] Twombly mistakenly emphasizes the Wainwright's tall look, reading into it Sullivan's later definition of the skyscraper as a "proud and soaring thing." Because of its blocky dimensions (the Wainwright has a main façade that is almost square), one is far more struck by its cubic solidity. The visually stressed piers do indeed carry the eye upward, but this motion is brought to a full stop by a powerful, overhanging cornice. This building does not "soar" in the manner of some later skyscrapers. The Wainwright is impressive precisely because Sullivan brings its ten-story height down to earth. With its red Missouri granite, sandstone and terra cotta, it looks like a rock outcropping washed over by Mississippi silt. Twombly might have commented on its muscular, weighty expression, but instead gives us its actual weight: "The building weighed two and one-half tons per cubic foot, but by 1893 had settled only a quarter of an inch"—meaningless facts unless we know how many fractions of an inch other skyscrapers settle.

Lewis Mumford, who may have been overly affected by European Modernism in his evaluation of the Wainwright, was closer to the truth when he observed that the horizontal base and top contradict the vertically expressed office floors and that the classical conception of base, column and capital "has precious little to do with the logic of the tall building." More important, he criticized Sullivan for aestheticizing the crassly commercial requirements of office buildings:

> More than anything, the mischief lay in the notion that on the foundation of practical needs the skyscraper could or should be translated into a "proud and soaring thing." This was giving the skyscraper a spiritual function to perform: whereas, in actuality, height in skyscrapers meant either a desire for centralized administration, a desire to increase ground rents, a desire for advertisement, or all three of these together—and none of these functions determines a "proud and soaring thing."

While Twombly mentions Sullivan's ideas on architecture in passing, he does not maintain critical distance, nor does he provide a detailed analysis of the man's writings.* It is especially regrettable that Twombly presents Sullivan's oft-quoted dictum, "Form follows function"—frequently misattributed to the European Modernists by contemporary writers—without a historical assessment of the phrase. Like that other much abused expression, "Bauhaus functionalism," F.F.F. is a frequently misinterpreted notion that has become a kind of superficial shorthand for what is presumed to be the nature of modern architecture. The notion of F.F.F. is actually as American as the steel frame and as nineteenth-century as Charles Darwin. Twombly is correct when he says that this dictum represents Sullivan's attempt to find a law in architecture analogous to the laws of nature. Beyond that, however, it would have been useful to sort out why Sullivan paid such homage to what he called the Lord of Nature. However significant Sullivan's search for a natural law in architecture is historically, a contemporary writer should remind us that architecture does not mimic the slow, adaptive processes of natural selection. For any building of a given function, there may be several appropriate forms.

*More complete in this respect are Sherman Paul's *Louis Sullivan: An Architect in American Thought* (Prentice Hall, 1962); Narciso Menocal's *Architecture as Nature: The Transcendentalist Idea of Louis Sullivan* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); and David Andrew's *Louis Sullivan and the Polemics of Modern Architecture* (University of Illinois Press, 1985).

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Furthermore, function in the greatest works of architecture includes not just the utilitarian aspects (F.F.F. is commonly misunderstood to connote only these terms) but the social, cultural or spiritual ones as well. For Sullivan, in fact, the phrase stood for a transmutation of base matter into higher functions. It should be seen, therefore, as a metaphor for the architect's total task. Since Twombly assures us elsewhere of Sullivan's spiritual values, why does he treat F.F.F. as if it were merely a utilitarian paradigm?

There are also some peculiar omissions in the discussion of Sullivan's theory and intellectual development. The influence of the German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper has been raised, at least superficially, by a number of his earlier biographers. Sullivan's organization of a building's exterior into a forthrightly readable Gestalt, a definition stressing symbolic functions more clearly than structural-mechanical ones, can be traced to Semper's introduction to his magnum opus, *Der Stil*. The organizational principles of ornament reflected in most of Sullivan's buildings—dynamic flourishes and swirls for visually active zones, such as entry and top, and more neutral, geometrically stylized ornament for the repetitive office floors—are comparable to Semper's analysis of decorative principles. Evidence that Sullivan was familiar with some of Semper's ideas is substantial, though Twombly chooses to ignore the issue.

The most unexpected part of Twombly's biography is his suggestion that Sullivan was homosexual, especially because this notion affects his entire interpretation of Sullivan's work. Twombly drops inconclusive hints along the way to his ultimate assertion: Sullivan hated his father and admired his mother; he was obsessed with virility; after a student trip to Rome, he mentioned nothing he saw except Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling; he wrote a fan letter to Walt Whitman; he was very close to the wives of his friends; and he was glad to see his wife leave after their unsuccessful marriage.

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Although Twombly is somewhat cautious in his use of personal evidence, he is much less circumspect in his "detection" of homosexuality in Sullivan's work. As Twombly puts it, "his sexuality informed and is visible in his work." It is difficult enough to deduce an artist's sexual orientation in paintings with clearly stated themes. With architecture, which consists of a series of abstract forms, such a charged interpretation is especially problematic. For support, Twombly turns to Sullivan's own explanation of his design. Sullivan saw inorganic geometry as representative of male rationality, which he wanted to unite with its opposite expression, the organic, standing for female intuition. Sullivan's attempt to unite these opposites, expressed as male and female, rational and emotional, was not unusual for someone of his period. However, Twombly employs this same division to analyze Sullivan's buildings for their potential sexual representation. Overabundance of ornament thus leads him to describe a building as a kind of coming out of Sullivan's supposedly increasingly feminized personality.

For those buildings without decorative extravagance, he serves up other tortured analyses. In the case of the Gage Building in Chicago (1898), Twombly reads its vertical piers as male (what else?), and the ornament that bursts forth from their terminations in the attic zone as "ejaculatory" female forms, "the male sexual organ emitting a female form" or man giving birth to woman, thereby revealing Sullivan's true nature. While this vivid interpretation may be titillating, it reflects some sexual confusion on Twombly's part. First, no matter what metaphors Sullivan may have employed, does ornament really represent the female nature of man? Is it not ridiculous in this day to refer to those elements of a building that are decorative as intuitive/feminine, and those that are right-angled as rational/male? Is it meaningful to suppose that the straight line is any more rational than the curving line? But the greatest obstacle to Twombly's understanding of Sullivan's ornament is Sullivan's own philosophy. In his *A System of Architectural Ornament*, Sullivan divided ornament, an expression of female for Twombly, into the inorganic/intellectual and the organic/emotional. In fact, in most of Sullivan's buildings the ornament consists of a fusion between these two types. Such a coming together of the rational/male and emotional/female forms, which he tried to fuse into a "single impulse," could just as easily be seen as a heterosexual representation.

Twombly is much more successful in his portrait of Sullivan as a difficult, cantankerous man whose life as an uncompromising outsider affected his relations with his clients. He rightly points out that the rise of a Beaux-Arts classicism was not the only factor in Sullivan's decline, contrary to what Sullivan himself often claimed. The rather academic Beaux-Arts classicism became in time something that establishment clients such as bankers and developers grew to expect. By contrast, Sullivan's designs were an expression of a deep-seated individualism which could not readily accommodate the wishes of such clients. Frank Furness, another individualist with a rather prickly temperament (Sullivan had briefly been apprenticed to him in 1873) also began to have similar professional difficulties around 1900. That Frank Lloyd Wright continued to obtain commissions fairly easily during the first decade of this century was due, as Twombly explains, to the predominance of residential projects in his work. The private house, in which the architect deals with a single sympathetic client rather than with a committee of financial backers concerned with a return for their investment, allows for greater freedom. When Sullivan did try his hand at domestic design he was not especially successful. His interiors, according to Twombly, were overly formal, possibly because he had a poorly developed sense of domestic functions. As one of his assistants, the architect George Elmslie, remarked, "Mr. Sullivan simply had no concept whatever of American family life."

Twombly compensates for the dearth of personal material about Sullivan by squeezing information from deeds, tax records and city directories, even though these documents do not yield much of interest. We do know that toward the end of his life Sullivan frequently depended on handouts from friends, including Wright. He was so desperate for work that he half hoped Wright would find a use for his services in carrying out the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, or that the Austrian architect Adolf Loos might employ him as the head of a private architecture school Loos was planning to open in Paris.

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Sullivan remained a highly respected figure for European Modernists, and his work also continued to be discussed favorably in the American press, but neither of these factors led to more commissions. Considering the difficulties Sullivan had toward the end of his career, the power of most of his late, small-town banks is startling. He returned to a sturdy Richardsonian design, with ornament effectively concentrated around the most important features of the façade. There is an exciting tension between the bare brick walls and the lush decoration.

While it has some useful sections on Sullivan's personality and work, Twombly's biography is seriously flawed by his misconceptions about the methodology of architectural history, especially his uncritical use of dated concepts and his attempt to make too literal a connection between Sullivan's sexuality and his buildings. One comes away from this inadequate book most impressed with Sullivan's unceasing ability to create architectural monuments with a strong sense of place, while he persisted in living like an itinerant, moving from hotel to hotel. □

The Double Standard

DIANE F. ORENTLICHER

THE UNCERTAIN CRUSADE: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy. *By Joshua Muravchik. Hamilton Press. 247 pp. $18.95.*

Ask any American to suggest a word that sums up Jimmy Carter's presidency and the response is likely to be "ineffectual." The nearly universal perception of the Carter term as one marked by failure has obscured its one striking success: Jimmy Carter launched a foreign policy initiative that not only radically altered the contours of international relations, but also proved so compelling that his successor has been unable to discard it.

Shortly after Ronald Reagan took office, his Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, announced that terrorism would replace human rights as the central focus of the Administration's foreign policy. To underscore its repudiation of Carter's human rights policy, the incoming Administration put forth as its chief human rights officer Ernest Lefever, a man who was opposed to the very idea that human rights was a proper concern of foreign policy. The Congressional response to Lefever's nomination was the first of many rebuffs to the Reagan Administration's attempts to undo Carter's efforts. Lefever's appointment was rejected by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a 13-4 vote.

The Administration was forced to change course. In November 1981 a State Department policy paper concluded that "human rights is at the core of our foreign policy." Less than five years later, the still-reluctant human rights champion, Ronald Reagan, was to play a decisive role in the ouster of two "friendly" dictators, Ferdinand Marcos and Jean-Claude Duvalier.

This dramatic revolution in U.S. foreign policy—and international relations in general—launched by the Carter Administration has introduced a number of complex issues into foreign policy deliberations. The questions that proved most vexing for that administration remain so today: How can the U.S. government best promote human rights abroad? How can it balance human rights objectives against other foreign policy concerns without undercutting either? The importance of these issues requires serious analysis grounded in historical fact. Joshua Muravchik's *The Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy* claims to deliver such an analysis. It does not succeed.

Muravchik relies far more on abstract theory than on historical fact and as a result he cannot offer much in the way of new information about how that policy was implemented and what its effects were. Although full of opinions, the book appears to have been written without the benefit of interviews with the key officials responsible for developing and implementing Carter's human rights policy—Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Patricia Derian; National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski; and President Carter himself. Muravchik tries instead to piece together their views from memoirs, Congressional testimony and speeches. Such typically self-serving sources give the reader a good sense of the Administration's public rhetoric but little insight into the difficulties it encountered as it sought to create a human rights policy from whole cloth. There is, for instance, no analysis of the intense warfare between Carter's human rights staff and the State Department careerists. More important, the book contains no detailed case studies of the Carter Administration's efforts to promote human rights. Argentina, a central target of its human rights policy and the place where Carter's initiative was most successful, receives only passing mention.

If the historical thinness of Muravchik's account is painfully obvious so are its contradictions. Several chapters after he has observed that "quiet diplomacy" was the Carter Administration's "principal human rights activity," Muravchik asserts that the "heart and soul of the Carter human rights policy was the application of punishments to governments found to be violating human rights."

Muravchik's analysis is also deformed by an ideological bias strong enough to produce distortions in his reporting and interpretation of facts. A central thesis of *The Uncertain Crusade* is that a human rights policy ought to be animated, first and foremost, by a preference for democracies over Communist countries. "In this sense a human rights policy is profoundly ideological, and should be unabashedly so," Muravchik argues. His most trenchant criticism of Carter is that he failed to recognize this "most important truth." Muravchik's anti-Soviet zealotry repeatedly intrudes on his judgment. One striking instance of this is his insistence that the Helsinki Final Act is one of the "most effective" human rights instruments, and he contrasts its success with that of the major human rights treaties produced by the United Nations. Maintaining that the former provides "a source of encouragement for East European dissidents," Muravchik fails to mention the fact that dissidents who have responded to the accords by founding groups to monitor compliance with them have been crushed. One decade after the accords were signed, 80 percent of the Soviet citizens who joined such monitoring groups had been impris-

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oned at least once; half remained incarcerated.

The Uncertain Crusade does offer a few interesting observations. Muravchik is able to demonstrate that a complex range of factors guided the Administration's decision to apply punitive measures to countries engaged in serious human rights abuses, only one of which was the seriousness of those abuses. He also shows that the Administration consistently pulled its punches "in regard to strategically placed allies or key energy suppliers." He quotes Derian's recitation of the security considerations that the Carter Administration regarded as sufficiently important to mitigate concern about human rights, and the list could just as well have been drafted by the Reagan Administration: "We must maintain our bases [in the Philippines]; we must prevent the repressive regime in North Korea from conquering South Korea; . . . Pakistan must be heavily armed so that it can withstand and discourage a Soviet invasion." Muravchik also shows that the Carter Administration, like its successor, applied preferential treatment to two Communist countries that maintain a significant measure of independence from Moscow: Yugoslavia and Rumania. Muravchik cites these examples as evidence that Carter's human rights policy was a failure because it was inconsistently applied. But he fails to acknowledge that the same inconsistencies are also typical of the Reagan Administration. Had he done so, he might have been able to develop a useful analysis of the inherent constraints on any human rights policy. Instead, he merely retreads the well-worn path of Carter critics. □

Dangerous Passions

GARETH STEDMAN JONES

WORLDS APART: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750. *By Jean-Christophe Agnew. Cambridge University Press. 262 pp. $24.95.*

Worlds Apart is an important and original work. Building imaginatively on Mikhail Bakhtin's treatment of the carnival and Victor Turner's conceptions of ritual and liminality, Agnew is able to demonstrate far more powerfully than previous writers why the new forms assumed by Elizabethan and Jacobean theater were so disturbing to contemporaries and of such enduring power. Particularly impressive is the way in which Agnew traces the transposition of the stage, the actor and the spectator into political and philosophical discourse, from Hobbes to Smith, as a metaphor for the understanding of society and politics. This casts an unfamiliar light on the landmarks of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political theory and convincingly restores theater to a central place in the early modern imagination.

The idea that the power and novelty of the Elizabethan and Jacobean theater might be connected with the growing visibility of market relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not a new one. But no one has argued for such a connection with the subtlety of analysis and force of imagination that Jean-Christophe Agnew deploys here. Agnew's argument is that the sixteenth century theater was the principal site of a "crisis of representation"—a crisis rooted in the onset of market relations.

The medieval stage had been dominated by the notion of *theatrum mundi*, a sacred demonstration of the vanities of the world. The theater was not about illusion, nor were there professional players. It was rather a quasi-ritual enactment, in which no clear line divided performers from spectators and in which parts were allocated ceremonially through the town guilds. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the stage became "the locus of a fabricated and essentially didactic illusion aimed at an identifiable audience," and the synoptic and timeless viewpoint of the religious mystery gave way to the fragmentary and historical viewpoint of the secular chronicle.

Agnew builds his case for a crisis of representation not on the message of the new drama but on the medium itself. The growing anxiety about the new theater, expressed in Puritan denunciations from the 1570s onward, focused not on the plays but the players, who were compared to prostitutes. What sort of self was it that could simulate th thoughts and behavior of another' How could an ordered and hierarchica world of meaning be sustained if i drama it was possible "for a boy to pu on the attyre, the gesture, the passion of a woman; for a meane person to tak upon him the title of a Prince wit counterfeit porte and traine?" The ne theater was a nightmarish evocation o a world in which social boundaries ha lost their ontological fixity. The ne world could no longer be read, it had t be deciphered, and the new theate even more than the growing literature o characterology, was in the most privi leged position to explore it. It was itsel liminal, not only in its new sense of th stage as a spectacle, as a place in whic to eavesdrop on the world, but also in more literal sense. The Bankside Theat was situated in a suburb, outside the e fective control of city and church; and shared this no man's land with brothel Puritan preachers and the new forms c entrepreneurial activity growing up b yond the control of the guilds.

Medieval drama had been performe in the market square under the aegis c the church and the guilds. The mark was then a definite place, controlled b spatial arrangements that grew out c the organization of other kinds of soci exchange. Buying and selling had a ways been considered socially problem atic; the earliest markets were situate at the boundaries between settlement In antiquity, Hermes, the god of th boundary stone, was also associate with trickery and theft, and the fea associated with liminal space we assuaged by threshold rituals. Inde medieval sacred drama, whose leitmot was the intrinsic unimportance of th affairs of the world, might be thoug of as another such ritual, re-enactin the subordination of the secular worl to the sacred order of the cosmos.

Agnew argues that in the course c the sixteenth century, commodity e change escaped the spatial and tempor restrictions which had hitherto confine it, that the market was no longer tied t the marketplace but was progressive becoming a placeless, timeless phenon enon coextensive with society itsel This expansion of exchange relatio was disruptive of traditional hierarch cal representations of social order. Ou ward signs of rank and status no concealed as much as they revealed The new theater, he writes, "materia ized these relations"; it "bestowed h

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nan shape on the formlessness money alues were introducing into exchange."

The power of the new theater to robe beneath the surface of social relaions and to articulate the gulf between ublic profession and private intention highlighted by the whispered aside and he soliloquy) was what most disturbed s Puritan opponents. The production f a world of "artificial persons," in hich there was no longer any obvious elation, social or sexual, between playr and part, subverted the Puritan ambion to reconstruct a world of stable eanings, to be based on the sincerity nd transparency of the individual beever. In the face of this Puritan ssault, Agnew argues, the theater of ie early seventeenth century backed way from further exploration of the ew topsy-turvy world of exchange relaons. It became associated with court ther than country and was according- suppressed by the Puritan revolunaries in 1642.

After the 1660 Restoration, Agnew aintains, the theater did not resume its perimental and disruptive role, and in uritan America it remained silent until ie end of the eighteenth century. Since ie crisis of representation could not be solved by an ongoing exploration of ie world of market culture, it was set-ed by a separation of the market from ilture. But the deritualized spectatorip pioneered by the theater did come a metaphor, for both the underanding of the self and for social relaons. Dangerous passions, in Shaftesury's moral philosophy, could be exorsed by a process of internal soliloquy. ut of an exchange of fantasies among id between actors and spectators, acrding to Adam Smith, came an exange of sympathy; and out of the exange of sympathy sprang the whole mplex pattern of material and social change that created civilization. The sultant self was stoic and dispasonate, governed more by the aesthetics sociability than by ethics. Connoisurship, rather than the Puritans' ncerity and authenticity, guided the aders of Addison's *Spectator*, while eatrical assumptions of role, rather an ethical conceptions of rule, shaped e behavior of patricians toward pleians. It was theater, then, that beeathed to commercial society a lanage in which to understand itself, ough only at the cost of its own supession or emasculation. Thus, conides Agnew, the antitheatrical asceti-

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cism associated with the Protestant ethic "appears to have been not simply an economic strategy for ordering a class of workers set in motion by the market, but a cultural strategy for ordering a mass of meanings set in motion within the market."

The strength of Agnew's book lies in its suggestive presentation of the new theater as a prefiguration of the representation of commercial society. More doubtful, however, is Agnew's attempt to establish a causal connection between developments within the theater and the expansion of commodity production. Despite years of debate, no consensus has emerged even among Marxist historians on the extent to which sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England witnessed a triumph of market relations. Nor, at an empirical level, does Agnew's discussion carry that debate forward in any decisive fashion. Although it seems clear that an increasing number of commercial transactions were carried on beyond the confines of the marketplace, this still seems far short of Agnew's invocation of a timeless, placeless market. The difficulty really resides in Agnew's attempt to map the historical transformation of drama onto phases of the development of commodity exchange postulated by Marx in *Das Kapital*. The attempt to marry a step in the theoretical genealogy of the capitalist mode of production with a particular period in English history pulls Agnew's argument toward economic reductionism, despite his best effort to avoid it.

In fact, the argument in no sense requires a direct connection between changes in the theater and the growth of market relations. The need to establish such a connection only arises in an orthodox Marxist base/superstructure approach to historical interpretation. While the author explicitly distances himself from such an approach and draws freely on theories of representation which would seem to contradict it, he nevertheless remains trapped within this framework, if only because his ambition to align history and theory leads him to an oversimple picture of the crisis he wants to establish. The extent to which generalized commodity exchange disrupted and subverted sixteenth-century social relations remains uncertain. But there can be no doubt that the Reformation and the innovations associated with the early modern state did produce unprecedented upheaval. These developments were in themselves sufficient to engender a crisis of representation. The fascination with kingship and with "Machiavel," and the Puritan comparison of the actor's learned lines with the inauthenticity of the rote repetition of Catholic liturgy, are obvious pointers to this, as is the severance of drama from the church. Yet Agnew makes only glancing references to these crises. The virtual absence of any sustained discussion of religion and politics in early modern England leaves the economy as the only basis for an explanation of changes in the theater; and here, the connections are mainly conjectural. The fact is, classical Marxism and recent theories of representation sit very uneasily together, and the very sophistication of Agnew's book highlights the discordance.

Such a criticism, however, does not detract substantially from Agnew's achievement. *Worlds Apart* may not demonstrate any conclusive correspondence between the new theater and the disorienting features of nascent capitalism, but it does succeed magnificently in establishing this theater as a prime source of the metaphors out of which a discourse upon capitalism was eventually constructed. [

CAMPING ACROSS THE BORDER

After that
she walked across volcanoes through the rain
forest as though she were running,
as though the flames from her wattle hut
were catching her skirt in a pattern
of red and yellow skeletons. Until she rested
in the jungle of another country,
strapped into her loom
like a nursing mother, threads spun
red and yellow in Guatemala
smuggled at her breast. Insects
in hot weather, children hover,
their eyes and bellies swelled
to globes, but she is beyond
her milk. Still, pressing her fingers
to the limewood shuttle, this ash-haired
Fate charges the yarn with the history
of her tribe in highlands clotted with pines
and errant palms where her father burned
the earth, there purged himself of the heat
of a woman's body to sow
the corn. She weaves in yellow
of her betrothal, how she patted
tortillas to prove her worth, and how foreign
the landscape she found her marriage
bed. She moves back
to tighten the warp, lengthening
the story to her children and their children,
to the thatched house, windowless and closed
around a table strewn with pine needles,
tinsel, a candle burning to the conquerors'
saint and her own dark gods. Just before
the shots and shouts like a murder
of crows, fire shearing the roof.
After that
the steady walking from the cinders
of her village and her country
to this patch of neighbors' dirt turning
to mud in this season, a glistening cornucopia
of sicknesses with names mellifluous
as any in her language, where she weaves
for the few who walked with her.

Nancy Esposito

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Ghouls and Afreets

SUSAN BRIND

ARAB FOLKTALES. *Translated and edited by Inea Bushnaq. Pantheon. 86 pp. $19.95.*

"A genuine folktale is like a dream," wrote the anthropologist Jane Harrison, "a real dream, not a made up one." Its colorful episodes can seem like pure nonsense. But in folk tales, as in dreams, fantasy conceals the ordinary, familiar thing. Even in the most bizarre stories a way of life cannot help but be described, with details plucked out, altered and embellished. In this way folklore holds a lot of information about the people who made it. Part of its charm—for them and for strangers—is that it evokes their lives.

Inea Bushnaq's *Arab Folktales* gives a broad sampling of stories popular in the Arab world. Storytelling is still an important form of entertainment in the rural Middle East, and these tales vividly illustrate a way of life that is just now beginning to change. "There was, there was not" each story opens, leading the listener into the gray area of what may or may not be real. Here, a girl whittled out of wood by four bored men comes to life; another, disguised as a man, leads an army to meet her husband's and offers battle in the form of a game of chess. Hideous ghouls and afreets await the travelers in the wilderness, and djinn appear as unlikely animals everywhere. But amid the gold and silver, the women and men with skin like ivory or pomegranate and limbs like wax or sugar cane, ordinary wisdom is never far away. "The Clever Minister's Daughter," for instance, saves her father's life by answering the riddle

> What is the most precious of all stones?
> What is the sweetest of all sounds?
> What, after God, gives us life?

with "the millstone, the call to prayer, and water," the three things that nourish and regulate one's life.

The book is divided into sections, each containing stories that belong to a particular group of people or are of a certain kind. In her introduction to the two sections on monsters and magical marriages, Bushnaq writes: "Tales of magic peopled with Ghouls and Afreets are distinctly the entertainment of women. These are household tales proper. Men know the stories well, of course, having heard them as children. But a grown man's world is outside the house, while many great storytellers dwell within it." Here are the casual yet grisly pictures of cannibalism and necromancy, the invariably wicked stepmother and the groom who is not human or is a gullible fool. In "One-Tooth and Two-Teeth," for example, two old women persuade a young prince to marry one of them by throwing her supposed bath water, scented with roses, out the window and onto his head.

Anecdotes of the wise fools Djuha and Bahlul, on the other hand, are told by everybody—among friends, pilgrims, in coffeehouses. They are short, funny and to the point:

> Once Bahlul was included among the guests at a sumptuous banquet in the house of a wealthy merchant. Among the delicacies that were offered was a dish of Damascene nougat. "What is this?" asked a fellow diner. "I don't know," said Bahlul, "but I have heard people say that the most exquisite thing on earth is a bath. This, I think, must be a bath."

One indirect function of folk tales can be to reinforce a system of behavior or belief. This is particularly true of the Bedouin tales, which almost always reveal some heroic gesture of self-denial and generosity, the primary virtue. Here, a man is measured not by what he owns but by what he gives away.

It is difficult for an outsider to comprehend the significance of the Arabic language to the nations it unifies in Islam. Children throughout the Islamic world memorize the Koran as part of their education. Memorization has always been a tool of learning and preservation, and, as Bushnaq writes, "even those who cannot read carry with them hoards of poetry."

Arabic is unusual in that the colloquial language is very different from the written, or classical, form, and one does not translate readily into the other. There is, of course, a huge body of literature in classical Arabic. Beside it, in the peasant culture, are the stories, songs and poems that survive only by word of mouth, changing with every telling. The Arabic oral tradition, which only a hundred years ago included five epics like *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* and now has only one, is among the last to survive in this way. Having been a major form of entertainment for centuries, it now exists side by side with radio, television and the videocassette recorder. As Bushnaq writes:

> In villages today the women continue to enjoy evenings together over scented tea and roast melon seeds, but more often now they meet in the house of the happy owner of a television set. With their sleepy children they watch the latest drama from the Cairo studios, or "Peyton Place" with subtitles.
>
> It is a wistful moment when interest in recording an oral tradition awakens. It means that that tradition is well past its finest days, since it is the fear of losing it altogether which first motivates the collector to preserve the oral legacy in an uncharacteristic form, mechanically taping or writing it down.

Bushnaq's search was motivated by a desire to remember the stories she heard as a child in rural Palestine, in what is now known as the West Bank, which she left years ago to live and study abroad. Her search reflects the larger quest for national identity that has been taking place in the Middle East over the last few decades. The 1952 revolution in Egypt, and the nationalist feeling that followed it, led to the creation of folklore archives and journals in Cairo and inspired some of the country's finest poets and writers to use folk themes and the colloquial language in their work. The recording of folklore and fading traditions, begun by curious foreign scholars a hundred years ago, is now a matter of national interest and pride. One has only to compare the annotated *Arabian Nights*, compiled by the orientalist Edward Lane in the nineteenth century, with Bushnaq's anthology to see the change that has taken place. Her translations and commentary, although still intended for an English-speaking audience, are filled with tenderness and insight; the very title *Arabian Nights* evokes what Lane's book is—a Victorian entertainment, exotic and quaint.

Bushnaq's sources are her own recordings from the West Bank and Syria, and other collections made during this century. Different versions of the same stories occur "from Morocco to Iraq," and, like a true storyteller, she has taken the best parts of different tales and

---

Susan Brind has traveled widely in the Middle East and is a translator of Arabic poetry.

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worked them together. Throughout the book she uses weaving as a metaphor for this practice, a traditional parallel: the word *rhapsode*, "an improvising raconteur," comes from the Greek word *rhapto*, "to weave or embroider." There are stories in this book reminiscent of Cinderella, like "The Princess in the Suit of Leather" and "The Little Red Fish and the Clog of Gold," and others reminiscent of Shakespeare and Ovid, both of whom drew heavily on folklore. It is impossible to know whether these tales were brought into Arabic from later traditions or drawn initially from the same source.

Some stories, themes and actual passages are recognizable from antiquity. "If God Wills," a story from Palestine, is similar to "The Eloquent Peasant," a tale popular in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom 4,000 years ago and found on a papyrus excavated in the nineteenth century. In the modern version, the hero is unjustly beaten by a Turkish soldier. In the ancient one the oppressor is a rich landowner (again, a recurrent situation), but the illiterate peasant pleads his case in verse and is avenged before the king because of his magical gift of speech.

Despite their being specific to one group or another, there is something universal in all folk tales. A sense of recognition is part of the pleasure of hearing or reading them. Perhaps they are particularly stirring because rooted in them is the primordial belief that the world is fully animate—that there are monsters in the dark, that rivers have hands and trees have feet and that voices, words and looks are filled with power.

The folklore of the Middle East underlies much of Western tradition. It is the fabric not only of the Koran but also of the Old and New Testaments. Many of the beliefs and fears of the peasant and desert life it describes are still ingrained in our culture—among them, the fear of apocalypse and eternal winter. A life given to nomadic travel or the agricultural cycle is controlled by and in close harmony with the natural world. The life in it, its animation, comes and goes, and one is constantly reminded of its fragility. What does not die out from year to year is tradition. Small wonder that for people who cannot own or carry much, what can be kept invisibly and brought to life in a moment—words, stories, poems—is a great treasure. □

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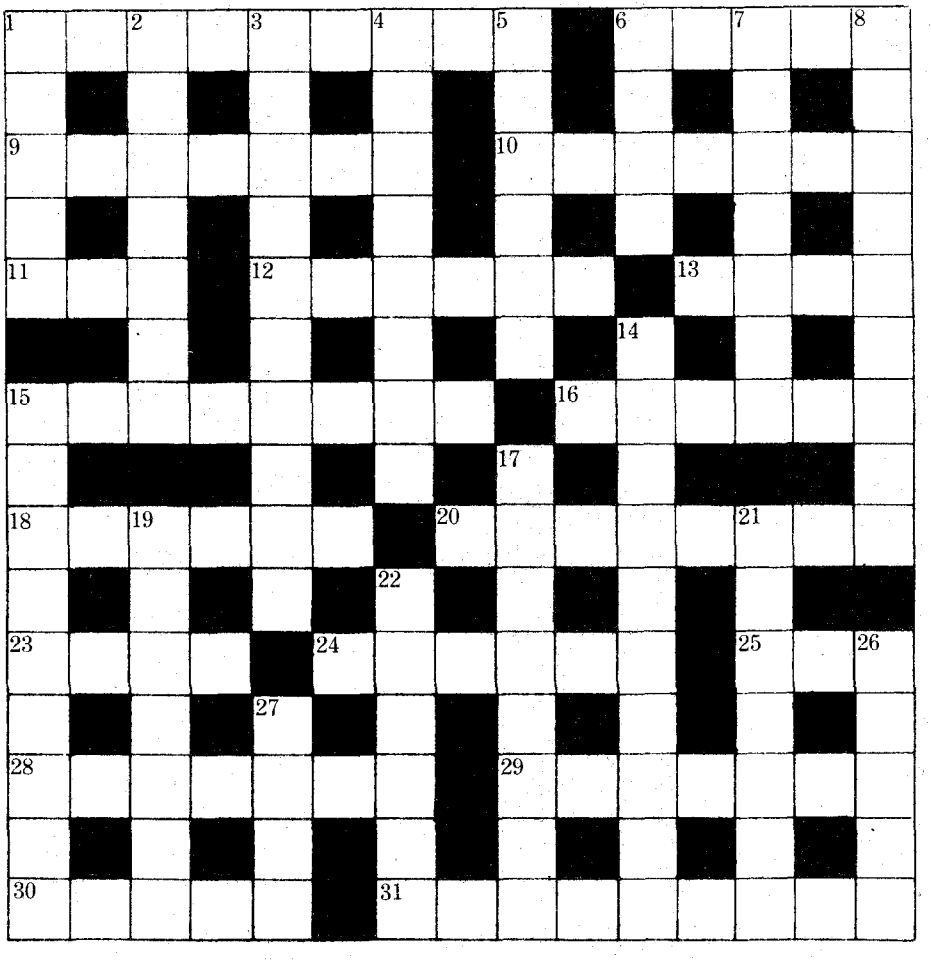

ACROSS

1 One might consider oil well finished, but if one gushes, it may mean more money for the producer. (3,6)
6 See 4 down
9 Bill might be finished, but still expected! (7)
10 If you know the ropes in total, any arduous task will show this one. (7)
11 The last word in pictures (if you don't take credit)? (3)
12 A shade of difference, coming from the clouds. (6)
13 Ruth originally puts mine on your head. (4)
15 Ezekiel's last did first, obviously—possibly responsible for the regulation. (8)
16 You might consider yours loose—as one does to 23 to make ties. (6)
18 Once around, follow something closely, like a small pet. (6)
20 Part of the "lustre" Americans show might make the big headline. (8)
23 The location of one of those things visitors hope to see, by the sound of it. (4)
24 Commonly it involves taking one to the cleaners—when grave markings are removed. (3-3)
25 See 22 down
28 Take cover at this for a 16, and bring out the ham! (7)
29 They might run after raindrops. (7)
30 Father comes round and one of those cute creatures appears! (5)
31 Diet of Worms? One is traditionally entitled! (5,4)

DOWN

1 and 15 down Make up for what the woodsman does, and what a hawk does, too—with a single act. (2,3,4,5)
2 Time for a well-orchestrated duet, say, which honors a god of the sky and war. (7)
3 See 22
4 and 6 across Did Sherlock imply one's bridge, for example, might be only twelve inches when he said this? (3,5,5)
5 Some diabolical icons portray such a type of cat. (6)
6 Possibly near-great musician of England. (4)
7 Egg changing into what the applause-hungry expect. (7)
8 Does it take someone like Kennedy to carry what we usually associate with a Roosevelt? (5,4)
14 How the stadium reacted to a call for a locomotive, in good spirit? (10)
15 See 1 down
17 Added proof to make certain things so? (At least Ron germinates this, in part!) (8)
19 It might be difficult to pet a bird this way, even if a model one. (7)
21 A lot of people might drink it dry. (7)
22, 25 across and 3 down Does it suggest the character of a Chinese midget mercilessly berating a criminal type? (6,3,6,4)
26 Given a taste of one's medicine? (5)
27 Wilt has a long story to tell! (4)

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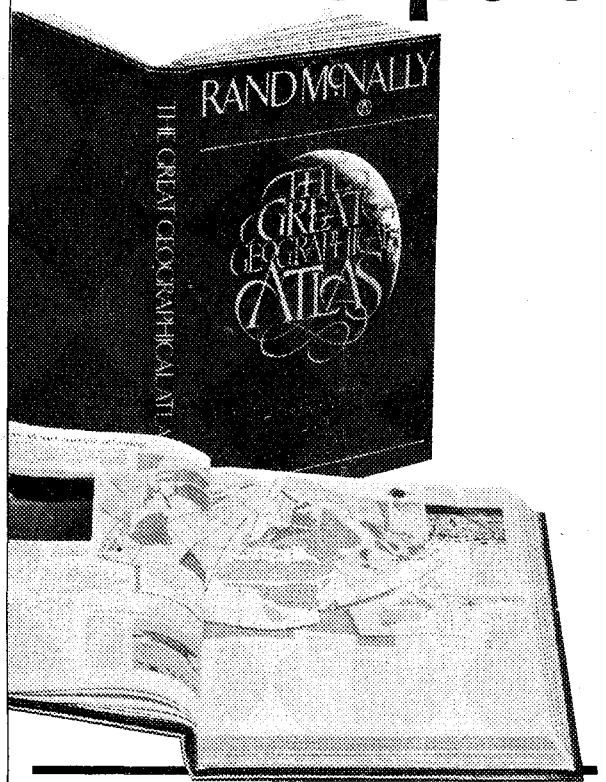

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